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McCarthyism & Catholicism

A NEW LOOK BY DONALD F. CROSBY

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NEWS & VIEWS

Michigan's Frenzy

It wasn't what Michigan legislators had in mind when they passed a 1976 bill providing public funding for gubernatorial primary and general-election candidates, but it's what they made possible: a self-proclaimed, open socialist as a serious candidate on the Democratic ticket.

Zolton Ferency's the name.

A Democrat who bolted to the Human Rights Party when it was organized in 1970 by "democratic socialists," Ferency is back in the Democratic party and regarded as the sleeper candidate in the Aug 8 primary for the Democratic nomination for governor.

Under Michigan's $2-for-$1 arrangement, he had qualified by late June, for $102,000 in matching funds, and was in the process of applying for another $16,000.

Thus the paradox of a state being a principal financial supporter in the campaign of a man who would upset much of the Michigan, to say nothing of the American, financial way.

Among other provocative proposals, Ferency has called for state sponsorship of banks and insurance companies, for public ownership of mines, power companies and utilities, and for government takeover of troubled manufacturing companies which could offer job opportunities for socially useful production. That's not dear old capitalism.

At this writing, polls have Ferency running second in a five-person race, behind State Senator William Fitzgerald. But a Ferency victory is considered quite possible given the large field, and Ferency's name recognition. He has been a candidate for a number of offices in the past, once polling 560,000 votes. It is figured 300,000 votes could win the Democratic primary.

Beyond the primary, of course, there's incumbent Republican Governor William Milliken, who is seeking a fourth term.

Milliken is an odds-on favorite for re-election, perhaps particularly in a race against Ferency. Ferency has a devoted following, but many Democrats have never forgiven him his Human Rights Party involvements. They could cross over or sit the election out.

For many Ferency followers, however, barely less important than winning the August primary and defeating Milliken in November is the raising of radical and vital social questions for debate in a gubernatorial campaign in an important industrial state—and by the unique means yet of public funding. By some opinion the issues factor is the real importance of the Ferency candidacy.

The Papal 'No'

The Guardian, Manchester's prestigious newspaper, took a jaundiced view of the papal "no" to the wedding plans of Prince Michael of Kent, 16th in the British line of succession, and Baroness Marie-Christine von Reibnitz of Austria.

Seemingly all obstacles to a Catholic church wedding had been cleared. The Baroness, a Catholic divorcee, had her church annulment. The Prince, an Anglican, had his cousin's, the Queen's, permission. And, since the ceremony was to take place in Vienna, circumvented was Anglican law which does not recognize the nullity decrees of the Catholic Church nor allow the remarriage of a divorced person in a church ceremony. A marriage, however, could take place in a Catholic church abroad because of its being a "mixed marriage."

Pope Paul's "no" to things, conveyed by Cardinal Hume, resulted from the couple's stated intention to raise any children from their marriage as Anglicans.

To *The Guardian* the "no" sound from the Vatican was "of sounding brass and a tinkling cymbol."

"In spite of the volumes of exegesis and commentary to which his words have given rise in 2,000 years, Christ does not emerge from the gospels as one concerned with precedents and letters of the law, not a scribe or a pharisee, not a pedant," said the paper. By implication the Pope and Hume were all of these.

The Guardian allowed the Pope and the Cardinal "the reluctant admiration which goes to people who make unpopular decisions because they think them right." Then it concluded: "It is still possible, admiringly, to think they are wholly wrong."

The Berrigan Papers

In 1969, Dan Berrigan agreed with Cornell University Library to contribute his personal papers as a special collection providing source material for future researchers seeking to probe the Berrigan message of resistance.

Since then, Dan and other members of the family—notably Phil, Liz and Jerry—have conveyed several thousand items to Cornell, and the collection has already become what officials consider an extremely important one for understanding the resistance as it developed within the American Catholic Church around such issues as the Vietnam war, poverty, imperialism, nuclear weapons and racism.

What the collection still badly needs is contributions from friends and correspondents of Dan and Phil, especially letters by them, but also other manuscripts or unusual published materials

by or about them. There is no other way of filling out the record.

Persons with such papers are asked to contact Jerry Berrigan (106 Maywood Dr., Syracuse, N.Y. 13205), or James Tyler (Department of Rare Books, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N.Y. 14853). The library will gladly provide donors with photocopies of originals presented to Cornell.

Cornell's appeal for materials concludes with this poignant quote from a Dan Berrigan letter to Tyler, dated May 19, 1973:

"When I was in Ireland in the new year, someone took me to see one of those 1000-year-old monks towers they built; there is a stone doorway some 20-feet above the ground. It seemed the monks used to grab their books and the sacred vessels and get up there quick and drag the ladder after them when the barbarians were coming over the hill. I have somewhat the same feeling about these papers. Maybe there will not be much left, to say we were trying to do something other than kill and get killed, I don't know."

Odds and Ends

—It's the sort of thing to turn a mortal's head. *A Ladies Home Journal* poll of junior and senior high school students in five American cities named evangelist Billy Graham as the highest achiever in the field of religion. Runner-up was God.

—Score it a smashing victory for the ROTC detachments from Loyola and DePaul Universities: the old Coast Guard station in the Monroe Street Harbor overrun in mock battle, with five guards "killed," each stabbed in the back. "This was really a lot of fun today," Julie Hern, 19, one of the raiders, told the *Chicago Tribune*. "I can't wait till next week—we're going to shoot machine guns and throw grenades at a camp somewhere." JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Phyllis McGinley

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: I don't know why John Deedy is so patronizing about Phyllis McGinley's light verse [Mar. 31, 1978]. He was right—her verse is better than James Whitcomb Riley's.

Why should a poet not celebrate being married, enjoying her family and living in the suburbs? Sounds pretty good to this Manhattan dweller.

The real reason Miss McGinley didn't publish her verse in *Commonweal* was not that she didn't like the magazine, but because after working on the Altar Guild, dropping her girls off at the parochial school, and picking up her husband on the 7:02, she wanted to earn some money for her work, and thus sent her poems off to the *New Yorker*.

It was one village, Larchmont, that she celebrated, and one husband and family that she enjoyed. She may not have regretted moving back into the City at the end.

ANNE PERKINS

IRA Provos

Pittsburgh, Pa.

To the Editors: Your issue of May 26, 1978 was disturbing to an old and faithful reader. Steinfels on Hiss sounded more *Commentary* than *Commonweal* and Powers on Nixon sounded like Rabbi Korff. Your editorial on Northern Ireland, "Peace for Ireland," was of the same kidney. You have accepted the point of view of the ruling clique in Southern Ireland. They are charming and persuasive but are a smug, selfish, bourgeois crew, totally out of sympathy with the proletarians and activists in the Catholic North.

They are not doing a very good job of running the South, but they and their friends, such as Desmond Fisher, your correspondent, are fat and happy.

Please dig a little deeper. That thing

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BAKKE

The complexities of the Supreme Court ruling in the reverse-discrimination case of Allan Bakke will be years in the sorting out, yet its basic meaning is already apparent. In simplest terms, the ruling is a defeat for rigid quotas of any sort and a go-ahead to affirmative-action programs which would remedy a legacy of racial discrimination in this country through a balancing of factors that include consideration of race, but in a context of many categories and types of criteria. This narrow victory and guarded approval for affirmative action disappointed many who felt that the injustices of two hundred years should allow for the boldest interpretations of what is permissible under law, even to the extra-constitutional. Much as we sympathize with the point of view, we are persuaded that the Court ruled sagaciously and in manner that will ultimately expand rather than contract opportunities of every kind for the disadvantaged.

We must confess, however, that that wasn't our initial reaction to *Bakke*. On quick first reading we feared that the Court had paid lip-service to a principle—affirmative action—then, by citing the "illuminating" example of Harvard University, had put the principle out of reach so far as broad application was concerned. It was a worry easy enough to harbor. If specific numerical quotas were to be outlawed, and diversity to be achieved through the sophisticated means of a Harvard, then it was easy to picture affirmative action being effectively tied in knots by groups that had neither the imagination, nor the will, nor the interest in diversity that Harvard and similar educational institutions have, almost by reason of what they are. Diversity belongs to the nature of a university, or should; the same is not true in the trades or other fields.

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Our concern, we are happy to say, was dispelled within days of *Bakke,* when the Court ruled in four less celebrated cases, all widening the implications of the Bakke decision and all in favor of affirmative action. The most important was a ruling upholding a 1973 consent decree that required AT&T to hire more blacks, ethnics and women. The special significance here was the suggestion that the Court would continue to view affirmative action programs in employment in a different light from the universities. The AT&T decision, for instance, appeared to reinforce government's powers to use goals, timetables and other prods, short of course of fixed quotas, to end discriminatory practices in industry. Thus a double-track corrective to discrimination seems in the shaping, and maybe even more before the need for affirmative action is ended in the country. In this context it is interesting to note that the Court has agreed to hear next year the case of a woman who claims that her sex has kept her from being admitted to two Illinois medical colleges.

Bakke, accordingly, isn't the final word, but it is an historic first word to what the future will be in the United States. The Justices were deeply divided on the case; the pundits are grappling yet with the nuances of their narrow votes and the multiple concurring and dissenting opinions. But, as Justice Brennan stated in his opinion, none of this should mask the central meaning of what the Court ruled on June 28, 1978: "Government may take race into account when it acts not to demean or insult any racial group, but to remedy disadvantages cast on minorities by past racial prejudice, at least when appropriate findings have been made by judicial, legislative or administrative bodies with competence to act in this area."

In this sense, *Bakke* is the most important civil-rights pronouncement made by the Supreme Court since *Brown* vs. *Board of Education of Topeka,* the 1954 school desegregation decision. *Bakke* will not have the immediate impact of *Brown,* but it is likely to be no less important in the long range, and as good for the soul of the nation and its people.

We applaud it.

WASHINGTON REPORT

QUESTIONING FOREIGN AID

Foreign aid took a few lumps here recently. It got kicked around for the wrong reasons, namely the hypnotic and paralyzing fear of Howard Jarvis and Proposition 13 that hangs in the air of this city like its smog. If we are cutting back on aid to American cities in trouble, on aid to American poor people in trouble, in theory on just about everything except military spending, why on earth, the natural question arises, should we still shovel out all that dough to foreigners who manifestly don't appreciate it and predictably pour it down one rathole or another anyway?

That is by no means an idle question. It deserved asking long before Proposition 13—which, needless to say, even were it adopted nationally, would have zero effect on foreign aid. But foreign aid has been around much too long—better than 30 years in one form or another—for it, its purposes and its products not to be questioned occasionally. Foreign aid passes as one of the foundation stones of liberal political thought in this country. That's not necessarily true, as even a cursory recollection of the origins of foreign aid as an idea and a reality can show.

Partly its origins lie in sheer bureaucratic inertia, the cause of many of the things Americans apparently don't like about their government. World War II brought the Lend-Lease program into existence and set up the bureaucratic apparatus necessary to move a lot of military matériel over great distances in a hurry. As we all know from phenomena as different as Christmas Seals—whatever did happen to tuberculosis?—and Sonny and Cher, once you get something that elaborate and expensive into operation, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to dismantle it. This is also, of course, one of the basic reasons behind the transformation of the temporary, emergency-only wartime OSS into the permanent, not to say eternal, CIA, to which foreign aid is by no means unrelated.

Beyond that fundamental inertial guidance system that dominates in these things, foreign aid did indeed come into its postwar existence as the CIA did, as an instrument of the American anti-Communism that was to give us Joe McCarthy, Vietnam, Richard Nixon and Watergate before it was finished with us, which, of course, it isn't yet by a long shot. Old timers will recall that one of the root accusations against Henry Wallace was that he wanted to put "a quart of milk at every Arab's doorstep." The mere fact that you could use that kind of language circa 1947 and still be received in respectable society tells us something about the temper of those times. Two things happened to change what was derided as another hare-brained giveaway scheme into something close to the heart of American foreign policy ever since.

The first was the Marshall Plan, which worked like a charm because it was perfectly adapted to its purposes: the resurrection of a long-established industrial society

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in Europe from the ruins that society had brought upon itself. The resurrection was so good that our two principal enemies in the war and beneficiaries in the peace, Germany and Japan, have become our principal rivals in trade and manufacture. If foreign aid could have that instant miraculous effect in Europe, why wouldn't it work everywhere? Besides, we had just convinced ourselves that we stood at the start of something called The American Century and it seemed only decent to pass some of the Americanization around to less fortunate folk beyond the seas.

The other big thing that brought foreign aid into being, however, was the Soviet permanent occupation of Eastern Europe and especially the brutal and tricky seizure of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia, it is always worth recalling, was the only independent country occupied by the Russians. The rest were all German colonies or occupied territories when the Russians took them from the Germans in battle, the traditional European method of changing land ownership. Traditional or not, the Soviet ascendancy in Eastern Europe lent the color of truth to the reviving American paranoia about Communism. If the Russians took Czechoslovakia, who could tell what would be next? As things have worked out, of course, Czechoslovakia was not only the first Soviet conquest of an independent country but also the last, but American perception generally, and specifically the perception of the Senate Department, has yet to catch up with that simple historical record. Czechoslovakia focused and crystalized what had been the merely murkily emerging anti-Communist revival. From that day to this, anti-Communism has been what this country has instead of a foreign policy and neither the tragedy of Vietnam nor the knockabout farce of Watergate has had the slightest effect upon that policy, though both were the obvious and predictable products of anti-Communism as both foreign and domestic policy.

It was within that frame of renascent anti-Communism that the despised "bleeding hearts" were able to get foreign aid built into the foreign policy of this country. At the time and for some years after, this looked like one of the all-time great political feats of legerdemain: getting the country to do something it ought to do out of the goodness of its heart for quite different, eminently "practical" reasons, namely saving the world from evangelical Communism. There was, to be sure, an undistributed middle in there somewhere, because in theory it wasn't evangelical Communism we were worried about but militarily aggrandizing Communism, but nobody ever sacrificed a political victory for fear of an undistributed middle.

This walnut-shell and pea job looked a lot better than it was. As data processors never tire of reciting, you only get out what you put in. It is never a question of the end justifying the means, always one of the means becoming the end. To a very large extent that's what has happened to foreign aid. Liberals generally, including me, were shocked and outraged when we learned that AID was second only to cultural attaché as a favorite cover for CIA operatives in Southeast Asia, but when you think about it, it isn't all that outrageous; there is a certain logic in the specific instance because in the larger scheme, AID was indeed conceived and set up as a kind of housebroken CIA in the struggle with the godless atheists for the hearts and minds of anyone who had either.

If you give it a moment's thought, you can see at once that anti-Communism is a hell of a reason to have a foreign aid program. It's like giving a drunk half a dollar so he won't vote the Socialist Labor ticket. He probably isn't going to vote at all.

Anyhow, with anti-Communism as the rationale for foreign aid, we can hardly complain when so much of it turns out to be military hardware and secret police software. If foreign aid means sending torture experts to police states in South America to teach the natives how to wire the testicles of wrong thinkers, we really have no reason to be mad. That's what we asked for. If the point of aid is to hold back the dread threat of Communism, it is not difficult to demonstrate that a little testicular electrification works wonders on individual Communists, even more on border-line cases leaning to the left.

What foreign aid needs, then, is first of all a clarification of purpose. Anti-Communism has brought us disaster after disaster at home and abroad. That is the principal item in the "lessons of Vietnam" we steadfastly refuse to learn. Anti-Communism as policy is negative and reactive. It isn't something, it's against something and that's no way to be anything. We should at last drop it officially. There have been moments in the public utterances of President Carter when it looked as if he had grasped that, but more recently, of course, he has discovered that the easy way to improve your popularity is to say you'll punch Joe Stalin right in the kisser if he ever sets foot on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Foreign aid is eminently worth doing for itself alone. If it were not cluttered up with anti-Communism, it would probably work a lot better than it has. The first point is simply that we ought to feed starving people because we have the capacity of growing an awful lot more food than we can eat ourselves, even with obesity a national problem for the first time in human history.

The second is the obvious one that no nation is an island even when it's a real island and certainly when it's a continent. In eighteen different ways it is good for this country to live in a world in which most peoples are able to support themselves with a sufficient agriculture and/or a sufficient industry to buy the necessary produce elsewhere, such as right here. That's what foreign aid ought to be about.

FRANK GETLEIN

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CHRISTIAN-MARXIST DIALOGUE

ANOTHER ROUND

It might have worked out better if William Luther White, speaking in a workshop toward the end of the conference, had made his point at one of the general sessions at the beginning. He said, "The pattern for dialogue since 1963 has resembled the style of diplomacy more than the style of politics. The essay in dialogue often follows some such outline as this: 1) an expression of appreciation for some valid criticism or achievement of the other position; 2) an admission of some problems or weaknesses in one's own tradition; and, finally, 3) the introduction of selected issues where disagreement or misunderstanding persist."

Perhaps some of us, more trained in politics than diplomacy, looked upon the recent (May 26-28) Christian-Marxist dialogue conference at Rosemont College in Philadelphia as more of an opportunity to score points than either to express appreciation or admit weaknesses.

This being the first sizable conference of dialogue between, or among, American Christians and American Marxists, a certain *gaucherie* was understandable. Victor Perlo, for example, speaking for the Communist Party, showed an unusual fondness for the multiple thousand: "American violations of human rights are a thousand times worse than those of the USSR. . . . As Lenin said, the USSR is a thousand times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy. . . . The USSR comes a thousand times closer to the UN's Human Rights Convention than any bourgeois democracy."

A man in the audience named Blahoslav Hruby, who edits a newsletter called *Religion in Communist-Dominated Areas*, responded to this chauvinism by rising, and saying, "It is obvious, Mr. Perlo, that you haven't lived in Russia or seen the inside of its jails." He then ticked off Solzhenitsyin, Sakharov, Yuri Orlov, the Stalin trials, strictures on Jews and Christians, Prague in '68, etc., etc.

Perlo wasn't admitting anything. Hruby's dirty laundry list was simply "the whole pot of Czarist émigré counter-revolutionary garbage designed to promote anti-Sovietism and militarism."

Fortunately, most of the conference, including other exchanges with Victor Perlo, at least on the human as opposed to ideological level, took place on a somewhat higher, more rational plane, and Paul Mojzes and Christians Associated for Relationships with Eastern Europe (CAREE) deserve a round of applause for organizing this gathering. They had previously cooperated with several European organizations in putting together a Christian-Marxist symposium, also at Rosemont in January, 1977; but that was limited to 56 participants and the Marxists were mostly from East and West Europe (*Commonweal* 3/4/77). (In Detroit in 1975 there was a larger Theology in the Americas conference, but this was mainly Latin American liberation theologians talking with North American Christians.)

At Rosemont in 1978 Michael Harrington was easily the most persuasive Marxist and if any group came out of the conference with plus points it was his Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). Few could disagree with his indictment of American capitalism. He was willing to admit that Marx made plenty of mistakes in prophecy and analysis and that many of his current disciples, most notably in Russia, were way off the track in the direction of state capitalism ("any fool can nationalize"). Marx was "a dyspeptic personality" who shared some responsibility for "the nasty, intolerant, polemical tradition of socialism" which could clearly use more of the Christian virtue of charity. Marxism could not solve the problems of evil, death or unhappiness in love, but it was still "the most emancipatory ideology the world has ever known" and "Marx's method, values, and dedication to freedom represent the highest point of human thought." He was "the greatest thinker the world has ever known." Harrington said that "religion should confine itself to problems beyond the capacity of Marxism, such as evil and death."

This fondness for Marxist superlatives and religious confinement led a later speaker to remark, with a touch of resentment, "Harrington tells us Christians, 'You take care of death and we'll take care of life'," but it wasn't quite that bad.

Harrington's act—compounded of wit, eloquence, sweet reason, and missionary fervor—is a very tough act to follow and Charles West, a Presbyterian theologian from Princeton, was, in addition, the victim of a scheduling error which had him giving a 45-minute reply to Harrington's 45-minute statement without so much as a chance for the audience to stretch. West was more effective at the ecumenical service in the Rosemont chapel on Sunday morning. As female saints looked down from the stained-glass windows, he read and commented movingly on the passage from the Acts of the Apostles, "Now the multitude of the believers were of one heart and one soul, and not one of them said that anything he possessed was his own, but they had all things in common. And with great power the apostles gave testimony to the resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord; and great grace was in them all. Nor was there anyone among them in want. For . . . dis-

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tribution was made to each, according as anyone had need." "Most emancipatory ideology the world has ever known" indeed! Unfortunately, Harrington had long since departed.

This writer, in one of the workshops, tried to start a new variation of the dialogue, namely, between Christian socialists who take seriously the words of Irving Howe ("The notion that democracy, even in its most corrupted forms, is anything but a precious human conquest, that it's just a facade for the rule of the oppressors: this serious people can no longer believe") and, on the other hand, Christian Marxists who emerge from Latin American revolutionary experiences that (at least to some, including myself) have left them, perhaps understandably, less than clearly devoted to democracy and democratic process.

Howe would have been surprised to see how many serious people, including Christian socialists, were still believing what he said they could no longer believe. "Democratic centralism," especially as practiced in Castro's Cuba, seemed to enjoy considerable favor in this workshop.

We could have used some of those 1350 Communists who recently signed a manifesto demanding an end to democratic centralism in the French Party.

About the middle of a workshop on Saturday evening I got the feeling that Marx was doing better than Christ. Certainly far more of those present were Christians who had been converted to some variation of Marxism than Marxists who had been converted to some form of Christianity. No Roger Garaudys were visible among us. A professor from Villanova, Fred Carrier, had just asked, "What other class analysis is there but Marx's?" Then James Will from Garrett Seminary in Illinois, without explicitly answering the question, pointed out that several thousand years before Marx the Hebrew prophets had provided us with a very sharp class analysis, which Christ and the Fathers of the Church had further developed.

On the last day the imbalance toward Marx was further corrected by a brilliant address from Max Stackhouse of Andover-Newton Theological School, responding to the engaging Dick Roberts, a Trotskyist from the Socialist Workers Party. Stackhouse, also a member of DSOC, spoke for the Christians with such grace and power that I couldn't help wishing he had been matched up with Harrington. That would have been a dialogue to remember.

Space limitations prevent proper attention to the two black speakers, Marxist Michelle Russell and Christian Shelby Books, who agreed on the white drift toward black genocide, or an excellent Christian economist named John Murphy from Catholic University, or 40 other workshop speakers, or a delightful discussion this writer had with some Protestant theologians in the dormitory lounge late Saturday night.

One of the more intriguing and encouraging signs was the frequent quoting of Reinhold Niebuhr.

When even the Marxists began quoting him, I recalled my favorite, "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible and his capacity for injustice makes democracy necessary." Wouldn't it be interesting if Niebuhr, so recently criticized for contributing to the Cold War outlook, could really bring us together?

JOHN C. CORT

(*John C. Cort is editor of* Religious Socialism, *quarterly newsletter of the Religion and Socialism Committee of DSOC.*)

SR. ELLEN MURPHY, C.S.J.

SNOWDRIFT

When my father swept me
in one almighty sweep
from the blue cold of the snowdrift
to his woolen shoulder, my numb cheeks
comforted against his beaver cap,
my snow-caked leggings limbered,
chapped knuckles kissed, he imbued
thenceforward to this day the drifts
of every winter's snow
with feelings soft as fur
and warmed them with the smoulder of his pipe.
his love, a sense of home.
The heart's vocabulary builds
like this: a list of meanings rubbed
from love at hand as personal as touch.

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McCARTHYISM AND CATHOLICISM

A new look at the evidence

DONALD F. CROSBY

I

IT IS SURELY one of the great ironies of Joseph McCarthy's story that as much as he tried to direct the glare of publicity onto himself and his career, he tried equally hard to keep his religion quietly to himself. Yet he failed in the latter completely, probably because he had succeeded very well in the former. Nevertheless, it seems clear that few Catholic politicians ever made less public display of their religion than did Joe McCarthy. Whatever the reasons, his religious life was a strictly private concern, limited largely to going to Mass on Sunday. His private religious feelings were affairs that he carefully avoided discussing in public, and he never used them as a political lever. Yet the senator's whole career was built on the fight against the Communists; with anti-Communism such an important part of Catholicism, his religion inevitably became a public topic, subject to incessant discussion and debate. All of this must have come as something of a surprise to Joseph Raymond McCarthy, who apparently gave hardly a passing thought to the more philosophical and political aspects of his religion and who asked only that he be known as an enemy of subversives, not as a Roman Catholic senator.

Both his admirers and his detractors admitted that McCarthy made few, if any, attempts to exploit his religion for political purposes. Three of his staunchest critics—Miles McMillin of the *Madison Capital-Times* and two of the editors of the *Commonweal,* John Cogley and James O'Gara—are all emphatic on this point. McMillin is especially insistent about this. He remembers the "Eastern hotshot intellectuals" who came "piling into Wisconsin," looking for a "nativist, fascist movement" and expecting to find McCarthy acting like a religious bigot in search of the Catholic vote. "The point is that there was very litttle . . . religionism in Joe. He never felt comfortable with that kind of stuff." The only dissenting opinion comes from Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May, who wrote in *McCarthy: The Man, the Senator, the Ism,* a popular account published in 1953, that soon after McCarthy started his crusade against Communism, he began deliberately bringing religion into his speeches in an attempt to build a "religious campaign" on his behalf. An examination of their evidence shows that they based their whole case on the speech in which he said that the two "fundamental truths of religion" were the "God who is eternal" and the "soul which is immortal." From this single statement they concluded firmly that McCarthy was waging a religious campaign. The blunt fact of the matter is that Catholicism had precious little to do with the senator's hunt for subversives. His designs were political and practical, as his friends William F. Buckley, Jr., and Roy Cohn readily concede. Another friend and associate, Charles Kersten, cannot recall a single occasion when McCarthy mentioned Catholicism in connection with his anti-Communist crusade.

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II

THE CONVENTIONAL wisdom has it that on 7 January 1950 McCarthy met for dinner at Washington's Colony restaurant with a prominent Washington attorney William A. Roberts, Professor Charles Kraus of the Department of Political Science at Georgetown University, and Father Edmund Walsh of the same university's School of Foreign Service, a man with a formidable reputation in Catholic circles as an expert on international Communism. During the meal McCarthy remarked that he was looking for an issue to get him the publicity he needed to win reelection in 1952. One of the dinner companions suggested the St. Lawrence Seaway Project, but McCarthy rejected it as too unexciting. When McCarthy himself proposed a large-scale pension plan for the aged, the others condemned it as economically unsound. Finally, Father Walsh suggested that McCarthy try the issue of Communist subversion; not only was the country in real danger from the threat of Communist spies, but the voters were ready to support a good Red hunt. McCarthy leaped at the idea, saying he was sure that this was the issue he needed for his campaign. When the other three warned him to be careful to "get the facts," McCarthy replied absentmindedly that he would follow their advice. McCarthy's companions then left, thinking that they had done a great service both to him and to the country. Less than a month later, McCarthy gave his famous speech in Wheeling, announcing that he had a list of Communists actually working in the State Department. Though the Colony incident has many variants, these elements seem to be common to all of them.

How did the tale get its start? Almost certainly it first appeared in the columns of Drew Pearson, at that time the scourge of Washington politicians and socialites. Pearson's column in the *Washington Post* for 14 March 1950 contained an item about the "likable [sic] young Senator Joe McCarthy" who had asked his friends for a winning issue and had learned that "any Senator who consistently attacked Communism would have a great appeal for the voters." Pearson wrote that today "the man who urged this latter advice, Father Edmund A. Walsh of Georgetown University, is not happy at the outcome." A month later Pearson repeated his charges, saying that McCarthy's campaign had been "encouraged by some of the clergy at Georgetown University acting unofficially and as individuals." Pearson did not name Walsh, but by that time almost everyone in Washington knew whom he meant. Thanks to Pearson's subsequent repetitions of the story, the Colony dinner soon became an accepted part of McCarthy lore.

Two years later the story, somewhat embellished, appeared in the popular biography of the senator by Anderson and May. Their version contained snatches of conversation designed to make it interesting reading. Thus, when the St. Lawrence Seaway proposal came up, McCarthy is supposed to have said, "That hasn't enough sex." To Walsh's idea of the Communist hunt, McCarthy reportedly replied, "The government is full of Communists. The thing to do is hammer at them." Frustratingly enough, Anderson and May failed to tell where they got their information. The Anderson and May volume, an immediate commercial hit, gave the story a currency it had not enjoyed before. In June 1953 I. F. Stone wrote that McCarthy "has had the guidance of Father Edmund A. Walsh," and in the same month the *Nation* said that Father Walsh had "selected" the "emotion-filled issue of Communism" for McCarthy's attentions. Subsequent versions of the story by Richard Rovere and Eric Goldman added further (and highly imaginative) details to the account. Goldman was the first to suggest that McCarthy's Irish blood may have had something to do with the event. He noted that Walsh's intervention "cut deep" into McCarthy's Irish background: "The Irish Catholics of his area, while New Dealers, had always suspected Easterners." Like his predecessors Goldman also failed to provide supporting evidence. Once the story had received the imprimatur of Rovere and Goldman, it became firmly fixed in the McCarthy legend, enduring to the present day.

For all the monotonous repetitions of the story, the incident has received only one systematic critique. In a doctoral dissertation on McCarthy, Michael O'Brien has noted that fully three months before the Wheeling speech McCarthy had successfully attacked a leftist reporter for the *Madison* (Wisc.) *Capital-Times,* charging that he had Communistic leanings. Though McCarthy was unable to uncover enough incriminating evidence to make the charges stick, he reaped a harvest of hometown publicity for his efforts. For the next three

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months (all *before* Wheeling) Communism was the principal and repeated theme of his political speeches. O'Brien concluded plausibly that the senator "needed no suggestion from Father Walsh to realize the political value of the Communist issue."

My own research into the story casts further doubt on it. When Pearson wrote in March 1950 that Father Walsh was "not happy at the outcome" of the dinner, he was quite right, but not in the way he suggested. No one knows what Walsh personally thought about McCarthy, since he wrote nothing about him, said nothing in public, and did not even discuss the senator with his Jesuit confreres at Georgetown University. (Nor do his personal papers give us any indication at all of his reactions to either McCarthy or the Colony controversy.) Nevertheless, Walsh made his feelings about the Pearson article abundantly clear to anyone around the university who cared to listen. Normally a restrained and self-possessed man, Walsh angrily told his fellow Jesuits that Pearson was a "liar." He said that he had even offered Pearson $1,000 for the columnist's favorite charity if Pearson could prove his accusations. If Pearson could not prove them, then he challenged Pearson to pay $1,000 to Walsh's own pet philanthropy. To Walsh's intense disgust, Pearson ignored the challenge.

The president of the university, Father Hunter Guthrie, stoutly defended Walsh's side of the controversy, but did so only in private. Unfortunately, Guthrie never denounced the story publicly, nor did Walsh himself ever publish a denial of Pearson's allegations. Hence the rumors and the popular belief that Walsh had instigated McCarthy's Red hunt.

WHAT CAN ONE say about the most famous dinner party McCarthy ever attended? Clearly it all began with Drew Pearson; it is not impossible that he made up a good part of the story. His associate Jack Anderson, who embellished it most imaginatively, refused to answer my letters of inquiry, as did Richard Rovere, who claims that he received his information from "one of the participants." Since three of the principals—McCarthy, Walsh and Roberts—are all dead, and the remaining witness, Professor Kraus, has dropped out of sight, it is impossible to acquire first-hand information about the event. It is essential to note, however, that no documentary evidence of any kind exists to prove that Walsh ever exhorted McCarthy to go on his political crusade.

If the story now seems suspect, why did it gain such currency? The answers are not hard to find. It made sense, of course, to say that a *priest* had given the idea to McCarthy because Catholicism was known to have a special argument with Communism. Secondly, everyone in Washington knew of Walsh's long-standing interest in Communism; indeed, one careful observer has described him as "almost the symbol of clerical anti-Communism in Washington." An alert critic, however, would have noted two flaws in the argument-from-the-priesthood: first, Walsh never said a word in public or in private about McCarthy, and second, Walsh almost never discussed the problem of Communists in government. Long known as a popular authority on the geopolitics of Russian expansionism, Walsh spent all of his time on the problem of external Communism, not domestic subversion.

One might suggest the following, by way of ringing down the curtain on *l'affaire Colony:* the meeting almost certainly took place, and the participants may well have discussed Communism. Given the senator's growing interest in domestic Communism and Walsh's constant preoccupation with what he called "international Marxism," it is also possible that they had an exchange on the politics of anti-Communism. It is highly improbable, however, that Walsh urged McCarthy to go on a crusade against subversives on the ground that it would bring him instant political stardom.

III

WITH OR WITHOUT the help of Edmund Walsh, Joseph Raymond McCarthy was soon off and running, swiftly acquiring a national reputation as the country's number-one Communist hunter.

What did the nation's Catholics think about McCarthy's performance? One of the first to speak out was the liberal Catholic congressman from St. Paul, Minnesota, who happened to have the same last name as the Wisconsin senator. Shortly after the Wheeling speech, Congressman Eugene McCarthy spoke before a Catholic group in suburban Washington. Bitterly he criticized the senator, claiming that his methods directly contradicted Catholic social and political principles. Since that time Eugene McCarthy has claimed, "I was the first to challenge Senator McCarthy," though the impossibility of establishing the exact date of his speech makes it difficult to prove his claim. Regardless of this problem, it is a fact that the forces of American Catholic liberalism, aptly symbolized by Eugene McCarthy, wasted no time coming to the conclusion that the junior senator was a menace both to the church and to the nation.

If the Gallup poll was any indication, however, Eugene McCarthy's voice represented only a minority of the nation's Catholics. A survey conducted in March 1950 (a month after the Wheeling address) showed that nearly half (49 percent) of the Catholics believed McCarthy when he said that Communists still worked in the State Department, and only 28 percent thought that he was just playing politics. (The figures for non-Catholics were virtually the same as for Catholics.) At that time the advantage seemed to lie with the Catholic

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McCarthyites, because of their greater numbers. The leadership of this band came from the *Brooklyn Tablet*, which lost no time in climbing on the McCarthy bandwagon. Reflecting as always the archconservative views of its editor, the *Tablet* described McCarthy's speech to the Senate of 20 February as "a straightforward American address," one prepared with great skill, and truly an "A-1 patriotic effort." As good as McCarthy's effort was, however, he needed help, because time was running out for America: "Every American is burdened with the obligation of saving his country before it is too late. Write your support of Senator McCarthy NOW!" This was only the first of many times that it called on its readers to exert public pressure in favor of McCarthy.

Although some Catholic publications shared the *Tablet's* warm enthusiasm for McCarthy, a number agreed with the *Boston Pilot* (the Catholic paper for that city), which said that a prudent caution was in order; "patience, sincerity; and a scrupulous regard for factual information" ought to govern the debate over McCarthy's charges, the *Pilot* argued.

Virtually alone in condemning McCarthy was the *Commonweal*, the leading voice for Catholic liberal and intellectual opinion. The magazine's editors found the senator an ignorant and irresponsible man, one who made a "moderate and constructive approach" to the problem of loyalty quite impossible. "With a trail of unresolved accusations behind him," McCarthy lunges from one indictment to the next, mixing "mere assertion" with evidence, it said. It suggested that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court be asked to appoint a distinguished panel of public figures charged with the task of looking impartially into McCarthy's charges. Such a panel would surely have the public confidence, as the present "scandal-screaming investigations just as surely do not." The *Commonweal* thus sounded the opening blast in its five-year war against Joe McCarthy. From that moment until his censure in December 1954, hardly a week went by without an editorial or article detailing the senator's latest crimes against the republic.

IV

What can one say about the most famous dinner party McCarthy ever attended? Clearly it all began with Drew Pearson; it is not impossible that he made up a good part of the story.

MC CARTHY DRAMATICALLY announced on 21 March 1950 that he had the name of the "top Russian espionage agent" in the United States. The "agent" turned out to be Professor Owen Lattimore of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

McCarthy quickly decided that he would let his case against the State Department "stand or fall" on Owen Lattimore. McCarthy's accusations were under the severe scrutiny of a Senate investigating committee headed by Democrat Millard E. Tydings. To the Tydings committee McCarthy now brought his star witness in the matter of Lattimore—Louis F. Budenz, the former editor of the *Daily Worker* who had returned to Catholicism in 1945.

Catholicism became an issue in Budenz's testimony, largely because he made it so. Budenz declared confidently that he was "a different man than five years ago" because the Catholic sacrament of "confession" had given him redemption from his past sins. Apparently he hoped that this would convince his listeners of the reliability of his testimony. Indeed, his return to Catholicism had been in the back of his mind all during his appearance before the Tydings committee. When asked if he had been thinking about the church during his appearance on the witness stand, he answered emphatically that it was "overwhelmingly my thought." It seems clear, in retrospect, that Budenz's traumatic departure from Communism, his abrupt entrance into Catholicism, and his highly conservative political posture all converged to produce a man whose religion and politics centered on anti-Communism. It remained that way until he died in 1972.

For anti-McCarthy liberals across the country, the picture of Budenz using his Catholicism to denounce suspected Communists was utterly beyond endurance. Elmer Davis complained that certain ex-Communists, finding that "final truth" does not reside in Moscow, have "sought and found it in Rome." A few have even become "their own Popes and are just as sure of their own infallibility as they were in the days when they parroted the resolutions of the Comintern." The *Washington Post* wondered whether it was really necessary for converts to Roman Catholicism to *lead* the movement away from Communism.

How did Catholics react to their co-religionist, Louis F. Budenz? Without doubt he posed a special problem for some of them because of his status as a convert from Communism, his popularity as a Catholic lecturer and author, and his use of the Catholic argument against Communist subversives.

BUDENZ'S MOST POTENT adversary, however, was a Catholic senator, Dennis Chavez of New Mexico.

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With a growing sense of frustration, he watched Budenz deliver his lengthy story to the Tydings committee. By the time Budenz was finished, he was hot with anger, telling a friend, "One of us Catholics ought to challenge this man—one of us should do it—I should do it!" Having decided that he was the one to express liberal Catholics' indignation with Budenz, Chavez rose on the Senate floor on 12 May 1950 delivering an impassioned attack on the ex-Communist. His voice trembling with emotion, Chavez said that in all his nineteen years in the Congress, he had never referred publicly to his religion. Now, however, "I speak as a Roman Catholic." He accused Budenz of using "the Church which I revere" as a "shield and a cloak" to protect testimony that was clearly unfair and untrue. Budenz has not been talking merely as a private citizen, Chavez insisted. Rather, he has been "speaking with special emphasis as a Catholic, investing his appearances and utterances with an added sanctity" by virtue of his recent conversion. "My ancestors brought the cross to this hemisphere," Chavez shouted. "Louis Budenz has been using this cross as a club."

Chavez's passionate outburst on the "Catholic issue" brought tempers to the flash point, as always happened during the McCarthy controversy. To the Jesuit president of Fordham University, Lawrence J. McGinley, Chavez was a "modern Pharisee," the kind who is "always ready to point a self-righteous finger at their fellow man." Other Catholic publications shared McGinley's sense of outrage. Probably the most vehement attack on Chavez came from a columnist in the *Los Angeles Tidings* (the Catholic paper for that city) who said that if the attack on Budenz had come from a Communist, it might have made sense. But "for a Catholic to do this to one of our Prodigal Sons—amid the joyous howls of all the atheist conspirators against God and mankind—is in my view unspeakably low."

Both Catholic and Protestant liberals, meanwhile, had begun to take Chavez's side in the dispute. His most important ally by far was Monsignor George Higgins, head of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Higgins saw Budenz as a serious threat both to the reputation of the Catholic Church and to its work. Nothing irked him more than the preposterous notion that Catholics ought to support Budenz because he was a member of their church. Catholics were free, absolutely and unqualifiedly free, to make up their minds about Budenz, about Chavez, or about anyone else, he wrote. Nor was it true that Louis F. Budenz ever "speaks for the Catholic Church," nor does Chavez, nor McCarthy, nor even George Higgins, he added. He hoped that someday Budenz would make it "unmistakably clear to the American public that the Church . . . is not a sort of International FBI." Most important of all, he hoped that Budenz would make it equally clear that the anti-Communism of the church "goes hand in hand with a radical program of social justice," one that some of the "patriots" who were so enthusiastic about Budenz seemed unwilling to honor.

V

In 1950, a major test of the political power of McCarthyism appeared to be the contest in Maryland, where McCarthy's arch-critic Millard Tydings had to face a McCarthyite candidate, John Marshall Butler. Since McCarthy had sworn to drive Tydings out of the Senate, all eyes focused on the Old Line State to see what the Catholics there would do. Adding tension to the fight was the common belief that Maryland was a heavily "Catholic" state, one where the traditional Catholic "ethnic minorities" made up a formidable part of the population. A more critical look at the religious makeup of the state, however, would have revealed that the Catholics made up less than 20 percent of the state's population, with most of them packed into the urban Baltimore area.

McCarthy himself spoke only three times in the Maryland campaign (on one occasion accusing Tydings of shielding traitors "at a time when the survival of Western non-atheistic civilization hangs in the balance"). Nevertheless, his was clearly the guiding hand behind the Butler forces, as a subsequent congressional investigation revealed. McCarthy sent his personal staff into the state, where they proceeded to conduct "a despicable 'back-street' type of campaign," as congressional investigators later described it. The McCarthy staffers collected campaign funds that they somehow failed to report; they mailed out hundreds of thousands of postcards claiming to be signed "personally" by John Marshall Butler, but which in fact were signed for him by paid campaign workers. Most serious of all, they produced a scurrilous piece of campaign literature called "From the Record" that purported to prove Tydings's pro-Communist leanings. The most sensational item in the "Record" was a photograph showing Tydings in animated conversation with Earl Browder, the prominent Communist party leader. Though this famous "doctored photo" was later shown to be a composite of two separate pictures and therefore an undoubted fake, the discovery came too late to affect the outcome of the election. The *Commonweal* expressed the indignation of liberals and Democrats everywhere when it asserted that McCarthy's Maryland campaign had debased the "integrity and honor of our national life." McCarthy's method was not the "American way"; rather it was the method of a "man who runs along the back streets to do his cheating when he hasn't the stuff to do things the straight and open way."

The results of the election came as a shock to anti-McCarthy forces across the nation. Tydings lost his Senate seat by more than 40,000 votes, but more impor-

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tantly, many people believed that it was Joe McCarthy, and not John Marshall Butler, who had defeated him. The Democrats in the Senate who pondered Tydings's fate may also have trembled.

Louis Bean, the noted political analyst and pollster, soon afterward examined the Catholic vote in Maryland and concluded that Tydings's "greater losses" were "associated with the greater Catholic concentrations." Thus in rural Carroll County, with a Catholic index of only 6 percent Tydings's vote dropped by four points from his position in the 1944 election, but in the city of Baltimore, with a Catholic index of fifty, he dropped by nineteen points. In other counties he found that the larger the Catholic population, the larger Tydings's losses were. Bean concluded that although the Catholic vote did more damage to Tydings in some areas of the state than it did in others, the "direction of its influence appears to have been consistent, against Tydings."

BEAN'S ANALYSIS abounds with difficulties. The percentage of Catholics in the areas of "greater Catholic concentration" that he studied is too small to prove that it was the *Catholic* vote that defected from Tydings. What is more, if Bean had pushed his study of "Catholic counties" a bit farther, he would have made two interesting discoveries. First, the most Catholic county in the state—St. Mary's County, which boasted a Catholic population of 80 percent—actually gave Tydings a narrow victory over Butler. Second, in the three most Catholic counties and in the city of Baltimore, Tydings ran consistently ahead of the only other Democrat running on a statewide ticket—the incumbent governor, William P. Lane. (Lane lost badly to the challenger, Theodore R. McKeldin, who took 61 percent of the vote.) It may very well be, therefore, that Tydings did better with the Catholic vote than did either his fellow Democrat, Governor Lane, or his Republican opponent, John M. Butler.

The small scale of the Catholic population in Maryland should have discouraged hard and fast judgments about McCarthy's impact on the Catholic vote in the Tydings contest. It did not, however. The *New York Times* concluded (without supporting evidence) that the "combination of the Catholic vote and the labor vote" probably made up a "large bloc of the sentiment that unseated" Tydings. Even less cautious was the McCarthyite Catholic weekly *Our Sunday Visitor,* which reported enthusiastically that Tydings had been "almost solidly opposed by Maryland Roman Catholics," who were the group chiefly responsible for his demise. Noting that McCarthy's enemies had fallen in other states, the *Visitor* concluded modestly that "the masses of Catholic electors have sensed . . . that they, and perhaps they alone, can save the world."

The *Visitor* notwithstanding, the Maryland election had hinged on factors that went far beyond the Catholic vote. What were they? First, the Democratic vote in Maryland had long been in decline, a trend that had started in 1938 and had continued despite the state's heavy Democratic registration. Second, Tydings's deeply conservative record had cost him much of his support among union members and blacks as well. Third, the state's Democratic organization in 1950 had split badly into two contending factions, thus depriving Tydings of the help that he needed in an election promising to be hard fought and very close. Finally, Tydings may well have suffered from charges that his investigating committee had "whitewashed" McCarthy's indictments against the administration, though it is impossible to say precisely how much this might have hurt him.

By the time Budenz was finished, Chavez was hot with anger, telling a friend, "One of us Catholics ought to challenge this man—one of us should do it—I should do it!"

The reality of the Maryland election was thus a complex set of voting patterns, party factions, and shifting structures of party loyalty. As often happens, however, the reality escaped the attention of observers, and a convenient myth took its place. In the case of Millard Tydings and the election of 1950, the myth was the invincibility of Joe McCarthy, who had routed the enemy from office.

With the myth of McCarthy's invincibility went a companion myth: that Maryland Catholics had routed Tydings and had put the McCarthyite Butler in his place. In the fearful ten months that followed the 1950 elections, the Democratic strategists in the White House found themselves haunted by a nagging question—would the Republicans be able to use the Communist issue to capture the Catholic vote in 1952?

VI

WITH SLASHING attacks on Adlai Stevenson, including that calculated slip of the tongue, "Alger—I mean Adlai," McCarthy projected himself into the center of the 1952 national elections. He toured the country denouncing enemies like William Benton in Connecticut and assisting friends like Barry Goldwater in Arizona. But McCarthy's political drawing power among his fellow Americans, and also his fellow Cath-

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olics, could be measured nowhere more directly than in Wisconsin, where he faced reelection.

In the Republican primary McCarthy was opposed by Leonard F. Schmitt, a liberal Republican (and a Catholic) with close ties to the progressive tradition of the La Follettes. Schmitt conducted a fiercely anti-McCarthy campaign, but the incumbent McCarthy rolled over him with Republican voters, 500,000 to 200,000. A few observers tried to attribute McCarthy's overwhelming victory to the Catholic vote, but their explanations were strained and unconvincing. McCarthy simply did well everywhere and with every Republican group, Catholics included.

For McCarthy's exultant Catholic followers across the nation, this landslide was a cause for unreserved rejoicing, no matter how it came about. The *Brooklyn Tablet* wrote that the "stooges" and "assorted pinks" who opposed McCarthy had been "stopped in their mud." Everyone agreed that his massive victory and the nationwide publicity that resulted from it had given him a momentum that would make him hard to beat. In the general election his Democratic opponent was Judge Thomas Fairchild, whose thoughtfully liberal policies and mild appearance looked pale against McCarthy's virulent anti-Communism.

Although McCarthy had swept the primary with much more than simply the "Catholic vote," his opponents still worried that Catholics would turn out overwhelmingly for him in the general election. Two of the most concerned were the manager of the Fairchild campaign, Patrick Lucey, and the chairman of the Wisconsin Democratic party, James E. Doyle, who worried most of all that McCarthy would sweep the vote of Wisconsin Catholics from Eastern European countries. The most important of these were the Polish Catholics located in Milwaukee's south side and in the Polish wards of Racine, Kenosha and Madison. Lucey's informants told him that the Democrats would be "wiped out" on the south side, so strong was the bitterness of the Polish Catholics against Communism. In addition to his reputation as the national anti-Communist *par excellence*, McCarthy was also a Catholic, a combination sure to cut deep into the traditionally Democratic strength of the Polish precincts. Recognizing the seriousness of the challenge, Lucey's forces worked strenuously on the south side, securing the support of organized labor and convincing the popular Congressman Clement Zablocki to support Fairchild. Lucey even ran advertisements in the Polish language newspaper with photos of Fairchild and Zablocki and a strong endorsement by Zablocki. Zablocki put limits on his support, however, refusing to campaign outside of his district for the Democratic candidate.

Yet at no time during the campaign did McCarthy raise a "religious" issue, or use his Catholicism to capture the Catholic vote. The veterans of 1952 are unanimous on this point, with the Democratic leaders the most emphatic of all. True, McCarthy did talk occasionally before Catholic groups such as the Holy Name Society or the Knights of Columbus; but usually the invitation came to him, not the other way round, and as any shrewd politician would, he accepted the bid.

ONE REASON McCarthy made no special attempt to snare the Catholic vote was that he spent so little time in Wisconsin during the campaign. The result was a close call. Out of the eleven Republican candidates on the Wisconsin ticket, McCarthy ran last, winning by only 139,042 votes over Fairchild (McCarthy had dropped 112,616 votes from his 1946 total). Meanwhile, Eisenhower took the state by 357,569 votes, and Governor Walter Kohler, Jr., won reelection by 407,327. Most amazing of all was the vote for the Wisconsin secretary of state, Fred R. Zimmerman, a bitter opponent of McCarthy: he piled up a 505,300 vote margin, the largest of any candidate on the ballot. It was in many ways a most unconvincing victory: McCarthy enjoyed heavy financing, he ran on a GOP ticket in a state that was swinging strongly into the Republican camp, and his reelection coincided with the first national GOP landslide in twenty years. Yet he trailed his ticket, he lost all the major cities in Wisconsin, and he did well only in the back-country areas where, as one scholar points out, "the voters had been dispassionately anti-Democratic since Roosevelt 'tricked' the country into war." Clearly, the Eisenhower sweep carried McCarthy into the winning column, but his followers nevertheless proclaimed that he had won a "smashing victory."

If McCarthy's win was unconvincing, so was the thesis (advanced by a few) that he had taken the state's Catholics along with him. In the working-class Polish wards of Milwaukee, McCarthy polled only 28 percent of the vote; the other GOP candidates received at least 38 percent. McCarthy also ran poorly in the Polish wards of Kenosha, Racine and Madison, trailing far behind the rest of the Republican ticket and losing badly to his opponent. The reason? One was that the Fairchild forces had concentrated their efforts in the cities, believing that if they could win the urban areas by a large enough margin, they could overcome McCarthy's expected bulge in the countryside. The Wisconsin labor unions adopted the same strategy, concentrating their efforts on the working-class wards in the cities, where the Poles made up one of the largest blocs of voters. In addition, the liberal newspapers of Milwaukee and Madison waged a furious campaign against McCarthy, hoping that they could reduce his chances for reelection. The result of all this concerted activity was that the Catholic laboring groups made up largely of Eastern Europeans, voted heavily against

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the senator. The point is worth emphasizing, for the Wisconsin Poles made up the largest single group of Catholics in the state.

When Louis Bean studied the Catholic vote in Wisconsin, he found that in the largest Catholic centers McCarthy ran poorly. In the counties with the largest concentrations of Catholics, McCarthy polled 6 to 7 percent less than in counties with only a few Catholics. He notes, however, that the factor of population was much more striking than Catholicism in its relation to the McCarthy vote: the greater the population density, the worse McCarthy's loss was. Although most of Wisconsin's rural counties were heavily Protestant, the few that were Catholic voted like the other rural areas for McCarthy. All of this means, quite simply, that Catholics generally followed the pattern of the rest of the state, voting against McCarthy when they lived in cities and with him if they lived in farming, back-country areas. His support among Catholics, therefore, was not "Catholic" as much as geographical and political. Bean was correct, then, in concluding that McCarthy's vote-getting power among Catholics was "not as solid or as extensive as is generally assumed."

And yet the myth survived that Catholics had overwhelmingly turned to McCarthy. Even Clement Zablocki, who should know better, still thinks that McCarthy carried his own fourth district. "The same people who voted for me voted for McCarthy," he told me in 1972. They did no such thing, McCarthy failed miserably in Zablocki's district, losing 76,408 to Fairchild's 135,852; yet Zablocki himself won still another smashing victory, piling up 131,098 votes to his opponent's 72,869.

VII

ANOTHER CANDIDATE for the Senate that year was the young Congressman from Boston, John F. Kennedy. Kennedy was not only running against a strong and experienced incumbent in the person of Henry Cabot Lodge, but he had to deal with the McCarthy matter as well. In no part of the Union, so it seemed, did Joe McCarthy have a more enthusiastic following than in Kennedy's Massachusetts. The 750,000 Irish in the state were among McCarthy's most ardent admirers (though an embattled minority opposed him), and no one was more acutely aware of this than John Kennedy and his campaign staff.

Vastly complicating Kennedy's relationship with McCarthy was the tight web of personal contacts that bound McCarthy to the Kennedy clan. Chief among these was the fondness of the Kennedy patriarch, Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr., for the senator. Joe Kennedy genuinely liked McCarthy, and he invited him on occasion to the family mansion on Cape Cod for a drink and dinner. The senior Kennedy also admired the senator's tough fight against Communism and may even have thought that his highly controversial methods were as valuable as his goals. An even warmer friendship developed between McCarthy and Robert Kennedy, who served on McCarthy's Permanent Senate Subcommittee on Investigations for six months in 1953 before leaving because of a personal feud with McCarthy's chief counsel, Roy M. Cohn. Bobby never disavowed McCarthy. In sum, when John Kennedy dealt with the McCarthy problem, he had to consider not only the senator and his unswerving adherents in Massachusetts but the Kennedy family in addition. Not surprisingly, the Kennedy staffers (and Kennedy himself) did everything they could to avoid the McCarthy issue, realizing that it could destroy the Kennedy campaign completely. For that matter, the forces of Henry Cabot Lodge did the same.

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To the vast relief of both the Kennedy and Lodge forces, McCarthy stayed away from Massachusetts. Although we may never know with certitude why he did this, it seems probable that he refrained from coming to Massachusetts out of respect for his old friend Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr. Money may have cemented an already firm friendship: the story is still current that the elder Kennedy gave McCarthy $50,000 in the fall of 1952, ostensibly to help McCarthy with his own campaign in Wisconsin, but in reality designed to make sure that McCarthy stayed out of Massaschusetts. Although the incident is not impossible, there is no firm documentary evidence to support it.

MUCH BETTER FOUNDED is the famous "Beacon Hill" affair, in which Joe Kennedy exploded in wrath at an attempt to get his son to renounce McCarthy and McCarthyism. The story goes that the liberals among Kennedy's advisers had long been pushing him to make a bold anti-McCarthy statement, one that would appeal to the anti-McCarthy feelings of the liberals in Massachusetts's electorate. After some hesitation Kennedy agreed to sign such a declaration, provided that Congressman John McCormack, always a power in Massachusetts, agree to sign it with him. When McCormack announced that he was ready to go

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along with the arrangement, Gardner Jackson prepared the statement and brought it to Kennedy's apartment on Beacon Hill in Boston to obtain the candidate's signature.

As Jackson entered the room, he was surprised to see that a large crowd had gathered there—with Joe Kennedy, in a rare visit to the apartment, seated on the sofa. When Jackson began reading the statement, the senior Kennedy violently interrupted him, shouting that Gardner and his liberal friends were trying to wreck his son's career. He praised McCarthy, saying that he supported him enthusiastically, and vowed that the anti-McCarthy advertisement would never reach the newspapers (as indeed it did not). Young Kennedy heard his father's performance from the nearby bedroom but said nothing. Asked about it later, he replied laconically that it was just his father's "pride of family." Several years afterward the elder Kennedy tried lamely to deny the whole story, but the evidence supporting the incident is too strong to discount. If nothing else, the affair demonstrated beyond dispute the sensitivity of all the Kennedys to McCarthy's political power in the Bay State.

Thanks to excellent organization and a furious campaign that saw him visiting every one of the 351 cities and towns in Massachusetts, Kennedy was able to defeat Senator Lodge and the Eisenhower landslide by the narrow margin of 70,737 votes. Without question a McCarthy intervention in Massachusetts would have had momentous consequences for the campaign, so strong did his following among Catholics in that state seem to be. Most political commentators have concluded that if Kennedy had made a false move on the McCarthy issue, he would have gone down to certain defeat. Eric Sevareid, for instance, wrote in 1960 that if Kennedy had taken a bold stand against McCarthy, "he would have been overwhelmingly defeated."

VIII

THE MCCARTHY QUESTION greatly intensified the hostilities already existing between Catholics and Protestants. One can find a number of causes for this. First, many Catholics believed that Protestants opposed McCarthy simply because he was a Catholic. The specter of Al Smith's failure to win the White House in 1928 because he was a Catholic once again loomed ahead; a number of Catholics (mostly conservative Republicans) believed that should a Catholic rise to prominence in American public life, the Protestants would always push him down. But more important than this, many Catholics had come to see the war against Communism as "their" issue: their church had opposed Marxism since the *Communist Manifesto* first appeared in 1848. Their popes had repeatedly and solemnly declared their opposition to Communism and all its works and pomps, and their denomination had repeatedly suffered persecution at the hands of the Communists, beginning in Russia in the 1920s and continuing unabated in most of the countries locked behind the iron curtain. What could Protestants possibly understand about world Communism (and Communist spies at home) since they had come to the issue so late, so uninformed, and so completely unscathed by it?

Many Protestants, on the other hand, believed that McCarthy enjoyed vast Catholic support and that Catholics approved of him simply because he was a Catholic. (The assumption, of course, was dead wrong—Catholic liberals opposed McCarthy just as much as did non-Catholic liberals.) At the same time many Protestants began to see in Joe McCarthy the lurid image of everything they had come to fear in American Catholicism: like many Catholics he showed a certain disinterest in civil liberties, he demanded conformity to

his own set of opinions, he was intolerant of all opposition, he dogmatized mindlessly, and he made a shambles of the democratic process by abusing the witnesses who came before his congressional committee. In sum, Joe McCarthy had come to represent what the Roman Catholic Church had always seemed to be.

One of the questions that worried Protestants most of all was whether McCarthy would run for president. From early 1950 until 1954, rumors flew about repeatedly that the senator would seek the Republican nomination in 1952 or 1956. If the Republicans gave him the nod, would he capitalize on his Catholicism to win the Catholic vote? McCarthy himself seemed to have written off the possibility of his being the "first Catholic President" when he told an interviewer for the *Madison State Journal* that he would not run for the presidency because of his religion. McCarthy's interview stirred up an angry altercation between Protestant liberals and conservative Catholics. The *Christian Century*, fearing that McCarthy's declaration was merely the first move in a projected campaign for the White House, called upon the Catholic hierarchy to repudiate his candidacy. The conservative Catholic weekly *Ave Maria* bitterly denounced the *Century*'s editorial, saying

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that if the Catholic bishops ever took such an action they would be committing "an unpardonable interference by the Church in matters of State." Taunted *Ave Maria*, "Haven't you been telling us how keen you are for complete separation of Church and State? Well, just what are you for?"

THE RELIGIOUS DISPUTE over McCarthy deepened perceptibly after the beginning of his second term in early 1953. In charge of his own investigating committee, he proceeded to hire a former leftist (and Stalinist) turned Methodist minister as his right-hand man and the head of his investigating staff. The Reverend J. B. Matthews, long known for his extreme right-wing political views, enjoyed close contacts not only with the conservative Hearst newspaper chain but with many of the businessmen and politicians who made up the Republican party's conservative elite. Though the members of the Democratic minority on McCarthy's committee resented Matthews's presence, he worked freely until he published an article entitled "Reds and Our Churches" in the July 1953 issue of the *American Mercury*. The first line of the essay roused a storm of debate, caused his ouster from the committee, and deepened the chasm between Protestants and Catholics over McCarthy. Matthews wrote, "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen."

Public reaction was instantaneous and furious. At the White House a group of Eisenhower's assistants opposed to McCarthy decided that the time had come to maneuver the President into making a public protest against McCarthy. While this was happening, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, an ecumenical body located in New York City, decided to make its own denunciation of McCarthy, though it wanted the support of the White House in its efforts. Since the White House staffers knew that it would be much easier to get a statement out of Eisenhower if he could appear to be responding to a respectable group like the NCCJ, they made strenuous efforts to coordinate the two actions.

After preliminary consultation the NCCJ decided that it would send President Eisenhower a telegram protesting Matthews's attack on the Protestant clergy; signing the telegram would be a Catholic priest, a Protestant minister, and a Jewish rabbi. President Eisenhower, in turn, was to send a telegram of congratulations to the three clergymen, taking the occasion to condemn McCarthyistic attacks on the ministry. Catholics figured prominently in the maneuvering at both the NCCJ and the White House. The priest whom the NCCJ selected to sign the telegram was the Reverend John O'Brien of Notre Dame University, a Catholic columnist known for his theological scholarship, his moderate

At the White House a group of Eisenhower's assistants decided that the time had come to maneuver the President into making a public protest against McCarthy.

political liberalism, and his keen interest in ecumenical affairs. Prime mover in the behind-the-scenes activity at the NCCJ was Dr. James Eagan, a scholarly and liberal Catholic layman whom the NCCJ employed to promote its many interfaith functions. To men like O'Brien and Eagan, devoted to the breaking down of denominational barriers and the building of social justice programs that all three major religions could support, McCarthyism and Matthews seemed destructive in the extreme.

Working at breakneck speed, the NCCJ delivered its telegram to the White House, where it went into the waiting hands of Emmet John Hughes. A Catholic liberal with ecumenical sympathies, Hughes had long been looking for a chance to strike a blow against McCarthy, whom he viewed as a menace to American politics and an embarrassment to the Catholic Church. Hughes and his anti-McCarthy cohorts in the White House worked frantically to get a telegram of response from Eisenhower: they knew that McCarthy was preparing to dismiss Matthews anyway, and they wanted to beat him in reaching the wire services. They narrowly won the race with McCarthy, delivering a copy of both telegrams to the press less than an hour before McCarthy broke his own story. The clergymen's message denounced Matthews's attack as "unjustified and deplorable." They said that destroying trust in the leaders of Protestantism, Catholicism, or Judaism "by wholesale condemnation" had the result of weakening "the greatest American bulwark against atheistic materialism and Communism." The President's reply, drafted by Hughes, assured the clergymen that he shared their convictions. It was from the nation's churches, he believed, that the American people would get the "spiritual strength" they needed to do battle "against the forces of godless tyranny and oppression."

BY ALL ACCOUNTS the Matthews affair ought to have lessened the strains between Protestants and Catholics, since Protestant and Catholic liberal leaders had joined together in rejecting both Matthews and McCarthy. In reality, however, it actually widened the

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chasm between Protestantism and Catholicism. What was the reason? It appears that many Protestants saw the Matthews attack as a Catholic assault on their loyalty. How did they come to this curious conclusion? First, they remembered that McCarthy, who never repudiated Matthews's article and released him only after coming under great pressure, was a practicing Catholic. They seemed to believe that what McCarthy the Catholic had done, the Catholic Church had done. Second, Catholic conservatives openly rejoiced in Matthews's indictment of the Protestant clergy, saying that it proved what they had known all along: the vaunted liberalism of the American Protestant ministry was

nothing but a mask over their leftist (and even Communistic) sympathies. Third, liberal Protestants still believed that Catholics were a reactionary group, ready to support a Matthews-style attack on their patriotism. True, Catholic liberals leaped at the chance to attack Matthews and McCarthy, but their attempts to defend the Protestant clergy against Matthews were less than convincing, at least to the Protestant clergymen whom Matthews had offended. Protestant liberals, as a result, felt little inclination to try to heal the old wounds.

Protestants were especially angered that some Catholic McCarthyites gloated openly over the Matthews article. For instance, the *Los Angeles Tidings* (the Catholic paper for that city) said that Matthews had attacked the Protestant clergy because a "disconcerting number" of such clergymen "have brought dishonor on the regiment. . . . Honor will return only with the purge or the penance." The Catholic news service's dispatch on the Matthews story hinted darkly that Matthews's charge of Communist infiltration into the Protestant clergy was "still a public question." Protestants also took umbrage at an editorial appearing in the *Brooklyn Tablet*. Long known for its policy of relentless anti-Protestantism, the *Tablet* stopped attacking the Protestants long enough to praise Matthews as an "outstanding Protestant" and a distinguished national authority on Communism. Did Matthews say that seven thousand Protestant clergymen in America were pro-Red? If so, the article asserted, he had really been quite kind to the nation's Protestants, because if there were 250,000 Protestant ministers in the United States, then he had singled out only 3 percent of them! When McCarthy finally dropped Matthews from the committee, Richard Ginder joined the *Tablet* in honoring Matthews by describing him as "something of a martyr to the faith." Other prominent Catholic conservatives, such as Louis F. Budenz, agreed with the *Tablet* that the people who had slandered Matthews were the same people who had smeared McCarthy in the past.

Protestants were quick both to deny Matthews's accusations and to react against Catholic support for him. One of the Protestant ministers whom Matthews had singled out for special criticism, Dr. John A. Mackay, moderator of the Presbyterian Church USA, issued a statement denouncing Matthews and asserting that Protestants had to confront "the Twentieth Century American version of the Sixteenth Century Spanish Inquisition." In an obvious reference to McCarthy, Dr. Mackay said that the "new inquisition" even had its "Grand Inquisitor" who like his famous prototype "thinks in patterns which have been made familiar to the world by totalitarian regimes." Mackay's reference to the "inquisition" was an unmistakable slap at the Catholic Joe McCarthy and Catholics in general, since Protestant liberals of the 1940s and 1950s often used phrases like "the Spanish Inquisition" and "inquisitor" to describe the modern Catholic Church, which they believed was as authoritarian and illiberal as its medieval predecessor. Drew Pearson was only too accurate when he said that the "chief tragedy" of the Matthews dispute was the deepening of hostility between Protestants and Catholics; Matthews's known association with reactionary groups had aroused deep bitterness among Protestants because they feared that McCarthyism was "developing into a Catholic attack" on Protestantism.

Catholic liberals did, of course, condemn Matthews. James E. Doyle, national co-chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, complained that McCarthy's hiring of Matthews had been an "attempt to intimidate and silence opposition from the Protestant clergy," and the liberal Catholic columnist Donald McDonald said that he was "extremely proud" of Father O'Brien's role in the public repudiation of Matthews. Yet others were more guarded in their assessment of the Matthews issue. The *Commonweal* reacted strongly against Protestant demands that the Catholic Church make an official condemnation of McCarthy. As much as it opposed the senator, it strenuously disapproved of abandoning "the tradition of nonintervention into politics by Church leaders just for the sake of another stick with which to beat McCarthy." Furthermore, the critics of the Matthews article had "gone much too far out on a limb" when they gave the impression that no Protestant minister had ever followed the Communist party line or had belonged to any of its numerous fronts. If McCarthy or Matthews should produce a few real Communistic

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ministers, "the public is likely to end up thinking McCarthy was right all the time." The Reverend Francis Lally of the *Boston Pilot* saw Matthews's criticisms of the clergy as "friendly" and "a kind of family criticism," though he regretted deeply the opprobrium the press had heaped upon the Protestant clergy. From no sector of the Catholic Church, therefore, did Protestant ministers and spokesmen hear the kind of ringing denunciation of Matthews that they believed they had a right to hear. The Matthews episode had done nothing to draw Protestant and Catholic liberals closer together.

IX

CATHOLICS ARE free to back McCarthy to the hilt or to the wall," a Catholic editor wrote in late 1954. Catholics did precisely that—both to McCarthy and to one another.

Since Catholics made no attempt to hide their differences (and, indeed, went out of their way to insist that they were *not* like other Catholics), it seems strange that so many commentators credited McCarthy with massive Catholic support. The sheer volume of angry argumentation, alone, ought to have been enough to convince the skeptics. Many observers, nonetheless, remained hard to persuade. For example, Richard L. Strout of the *New Republic*, who wrote under the pseudonym of TRB said that McCarthy had a "tremendous gravitational pull on [the] Catholic masses." Senator Charles Potter noted ominously that "many Catholics are behind him and so is the Ku Klux Klan." A year after McCarthy's death an otherwise sophisticated observer of the political and religious scene concluded that Catholics had shown an "almost monolithic uniformity" on the McCarthy question. And as recently as 1971 Fred Cook wrote darkly that a "large and powerful segment" of the church shared Cardinal Spellman's favorable assessment of McCarthy.

Yet a number of authors were shrewd enough to perceive the split in the Catholic community, and they concluded rightly that Catholics were anything but "monolithic" on McCarthy. Even TRB (perhaps trying to have it both ways) eventually discovered the "deep fissure" that McCarthy had created among Catholics. A number of Catholic liberals saw the rift with equal clarity, and repeatedly proclaimed that Catholics were as divided on McCarthy as everyone else. There was no more a "Catholic position" on McCarthy than there was a "Protestant" or "Jewish" one on him, they insisted. Donald McDonald, for instance, believed that the Catholic McCarthyites had never formed more than a "hard and bitter minority," and John Cogley denied that McCarthy had ever achieved the "sweeping Catholic acceptance" that careless writers often assumed he enjoyed. The more perceptive writers of recent years, scholars such as James MacGregor Burns, for example, have made considerable efforts to delineate the rift in Catholic ranks over the senator.

Even if one takes the polls at face value, they give evidence of a Catholic population not radically different from the rest of the nation in its views of the senator.

The opinion polls had always complicated the picture and at first glance made it seem that McCarthy enjoyed a "massive" Catholic following. Beginning in early 1954 the Gallup agency published several of its surveys of national opinion on McCarthy, carefully including Catholic opinion in the sample; it noted that Catholics seemed more solidly behind McCarthy than did the rest of the populace. A closer examination of those same polls, however, would have revealed a certain softness in McCarthy's Catholic strength.

The polls unmistakably revealed a remarkably large body of vague opinion on McCarthy, with few Americans having deep feelings of either hostility or approval. Over the course of McCarthy's five years of crusading, the Gallup and Roper agencies conducted thirty-three samplings of national opinion on the senator, and on twelve different occasions they asked respondents to describe the intensity of their opinion about him. Each of these surveys showed a sizable group of people who entertained only mild feelings of approval or disapproval. The truly vehement McCarthyites and anti-McCarthyites made up only a small portion of each sample. Thus the Catholics who expressed intense approval of McCarthy never registered over 21 percent of the sample and once fell as low as 11 percent, those who expressed intense disapproval of McCarthy ranged from 14 percent to 25 percent. In the same three polls the group of Catholics with only very mild feelings or with none at all ranged impressively in size from 55 percent to 74 percent. (The number of Protestants with similarly moderate opinions was slightly smaller.) These figures seemed to reveal a large mass of opinion on McCarthy that was mildly committed or virtually uncommitted; this characteristic spanned both the Catholic and the non-Catholic communities.

If most Catholics showed a marked tendency (shared by the rest of the country) to avoid taking a strong stand on McCarthy, a number of them refused to go even that far, rendering a no-comment or an I-don't-know answer when queried about him. The uncommitted

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portion of the Catholic community bulked as large as 56 percent (in March 1953) and as small as 8.7 percent (in December 1953) but usually ran about 20 percent. At no time was the Catholic group that expressed no comment much different in size from that of the Protestants.

Even if one takes the polls at face value, they give evidence of a Catholic population not radically different from the rest of the nation in its views of the senator. Can one seriously argue that a spread of eight to ten points constitutes a major difference? Does it posit the existence of a body of Catholic opinion fundamentally different from the rest of the nation? More important still, what is one to say of the fact that Catholic support for McCarthy rose and fell in exact harmony with the rise and fall of national opinion? When the Army-McCarthy hearings destroyed McCarthy's national following, they destroyed his Catholic support as well. After the senator's disastrous bout with the Pentagon, Catholics stopped carrying the torch for McCarthy (except for the hard core of his admirers, epitomized best by the *Brooklyn Tablet* and its followers). And the rest of the country followed the same course. In similar fashion the Catholic vote on McCarthy, like the polls of Catholic opinion, showed a divided response. When Catholics voted in the elections in which McCarthyism was a factor, they generally voted like the other voters in their region (as in Appleton, Wisconsin, where McCarthy swept the electorate) or like the other voters in the wing of the political party to which they belonged.

The debate over McCarthyism was thus predominantly an affair of elites—of conservative editors, politicians, editors, business leaders, and leading clergymen —all ranged against liberals drawn largely from the same ranks. Only in New York and Boston did the Catholic masses actively support his campaign, and even in those cities a conservative elite pushed the McCarthy bandwagon fully as much as the masses followed it. Within the Catholic elites, however, a savage battle raged over McCarthy.

WHEN ONE LOOKS back on the Catholic experience with McCarthyism, one is also struck by the *lack* of churchly influence on the nation's Catholics. Put in its simplest terms, Catholics failed to follow the direction of the church in the matter of McCarthy because that direction was muted and ambiguous at best. Furthermore, Catholics were determined to follow their ecclesiastical leaders only in the most strictly defined religious areas, such as attendance at church on Sunday, the requirement of marriage before a Catholic priest, or the maintenance of the parochial school system. Whether by default, by accident, or by design, Catholics were in the habit of finding their own answers to most day-to-day questions (and in virtually all intellectual, cultural, and political matters) without the help of the duly appointed and official leaders of their church.

A survey of Catholic reading habits taken in 1954 dramatically illustrated this phenomenon. When the pollsters asked Catholics how many of them regularly read a Catholic newspaper or periodical, only 44 percent of them said that they customarily did so. Is it any wonder, then, that the overwhelmingly McCarthyite Catholic press failed to have so little influence on the Catholic readership in America? If Catholics paid little attention to papal statements on capitalism, peace and the errors of recent heretics, they seemed equally uninterested in the annual statements of the American bishops on similar topics. As early as the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), a majority of Catholics polled in national surveys indicated that they disagreed with the American hierarchy in its public stand on the war (in this case, the pro-Franco position that the bishops had adopted). Repeated calls of the hierarchy and the lower clergy for the masses of lay Catholics to join in crusades against abortion, pornography, or Paul Blanshard had met an indifferent reception. Only in New England or New York City could Catholics shake off their political passivity long enough to retain laws against birth control or to remove "anti-Catholic" books from the shelves of public libraries. If the Catholic Church was an authoritarian institution, the masses of lay Catholics seemed resolutely determined to confine that authority to a set of narrowly defined religious functions. The bishops might well urge Catholics to support the civil-rights movement for blacks, but many lay Catholics would wonder out loud if the prelates had spoken out of turn. The activist-minded Catholic liberals, to be sure, defended the bishops' right to speak out in favor of black equality (or on any other moral issue) because they believed most vehemently in the thesis that Catholic belief ought to have an impact on all of one's actions. They detested the tendency of many Catholics to think that their religion began and ended with Mass on Sunday.

The Catholic liberals were especially active during the McCarthy episode, striving to articulate an ethic both of Catholic civil libertarianism and of reasonable anti-Communism. These concepts helped form the foundation of the "Catholic renaissance" of the 1960s—a period that witnessed the Second Vatican Council and a growing Catholic emphasis on personal freedom, on religious toleration, and on the right of the individual (even the Catholic individual) to a personal expression of his own opinions. Most important of all, however, the decade brought the inauguration of the first Catholic President, for whose acceptance the Catholic liberals had helped pave the way by demanding religious freedom for all. Is it too much to say that out of the conflicts of the McCarthy era came the ecumenical promise of the Kennedy years, that out of the trauma of the early fifties came the promise of the sixties?

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TELEVISION

Norman Lear recently announced his retirement from television production, and though the event may prove to be his own version of Marlene Dietrich's farewell tours, and though he has already been the subject of several columns, it is nonetheless an occasion worth pondering. Television comedy, for good or ill, has been dominated by him in this decade. Indeed, the Smithsonian recently acquired Archie Bunker's easy chair for its collection, so it is fair to say that Norman Lear has become an institution of American mass culture. To that end, I wish him the very best, but I'm glad he is going away, if only for a while.

A definition of comedy is an insurmountable obstacle. Surely the longest and dullest book I have ever read is Max Eastman's *Enjoyment of Laughter*—any analysis, whether incisive or instinctive, is bound, by its very intention, to somehow miss the point, to say so much without saying what is simply true: we like to laugh, this makes us laugh. Watching Norman Lear's creations over the past few years I have sometimes asked myself why his audience is laughing. What exactly could it be that makes *All in the Family* or *Maude* or *The Jeffersons* amusing. What are they laughing at? The motive, it seems to me, says a great deal about the phenomenon; people, after all, used to laugh at lunatics (and still do), and the sounds that come from Norman Lear's audiences have a scornful ring to them, it seems to me. This is not comedy in any pure sense of the word, but social animosity, and cruelty, and it has been alleged to lighten our national psychic load. I think, instead, it has added to it.

All in the Family brought Norman Lear to prominence when it began in 1971, and it has remained his flagship. He is obviously rather superstitious about it, for while his other shows change direction violently, cast off characters with abandon and generally experiment with their formulas, *All in the Family* has remained ever the same. Viewers of the future may wonder about its appeal, and may wonder further about what exactly it was trying to do. What intrigues me about it is that it was not, in the beginning, intended to be funny; or, put another way, it was conceived as an amusing vehicle for a serious idea—the nonsense of bigotry—and built resolutely around that worthy goal. A humorist ought to regard a serious matter and treat it with irony, or turn it on its head and make it bizarre. After all, the world is full of such mysterious things that we needn't try too hard to demonstrate their insanity; it is there all too plain to see, and can not be over-described. *All in the Family*, by reversing the comic process, outwits itself.

Archie Bunker is a lower-middle-class resident of Queens, full of bile and frustration, and a holder of views about social matters shared, I fear, with all too many people. The program presents him as less than a comic figure—it makes fun of him in a very unsubtle fashion, from his loudly flushing toilet to his perpetual defeats at the hands of smirking Puerto Ricans/blacks/homosexuals/wonderwomen, etc. etc., all of whom take great delight in making an ass of this wounded and bitter man, and winking at the audience. He is surrounded by high-minded bores, including a wife who serves as a sort of mouthpiece for a brainless variety of feminism, and a daughter and son-in-law who, with the wisdom of youth, seek always to show him the error of his ways. He is assailed by problems that are, in their capacity to turn anyone into an Archie Bunker, quite genuine. What this amounts to is that Norman Lear invites us—in fact, compels us—to laugh at Archie Bunker, and inadvertently it elicits our sympathy. What it amounts to as well is the fatal flaw in Norman Lear. He invites us to laugh *at* his creations, not with them, and that is too easy to be anything but fraudulent. He sets up his characters like a carnival barker, and appeals to some very low instincts. The laughter of the "live studio audience" is the laughter of revenge and derision. We don't sit back and enjoy it; we lean forward with a gleam in our eye, and that is disconcerting. It is also what motivates all his shows: racial animosity in *The Jeffersons*, sexual animosity in *Maude*, class animosity in *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. Does this, by way of entertainment, teach us about bigotry? It does, but surely the wrong lesson, for we have managed to assuage one form by practicing another.

Of course, Norman Lear's work will carry on after him. I imagine the *genre* he has concocted will be with us for some time to come; surely he has had his imitators. Television seems to detect social trends at least a few years after they have passed, and so it is that

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Norman Lear, the colossus of the '70s, has in fact been a purveyor of a sense of the '60s—a notion that art, if that is quite the word for it, somehow serves best as an instrument of social change. The problem with television is that its awareness of such things is sufficiently tardy as to be, in any significant sense, irrelevant: it only puts its stamp on presumption, or at least presumptions that agree with a majority of its viewers. The future, then, grows more tantalizing with each week we continue to be pinned down by Norman Lear hilarity. Part of the irresponsibility of our current epoch seems to be that we seek again to be diverted for the sake of diversion: that entertainment need not promote a worthy goal, apart from entertainment itself, which seems worthy enough. Can we expect a revival of something like *The Honeymooners* which, in its crude way, has survived quite nicely into the era of *Rhoda*, by way of syndication. Norman Lear calls for an antidote, and it is as clear and simple as laughter itself: some pratfalls, jokes, familiar phrases; stock characters, a wisecracking brother-in-law, dissembling neighbor, maniacal dentist. It is too much to hope for wit, but at least we can expect some humor.

PHILIP TERZIAN

HIDDEN HISTORY

THE SCREEN

At least in contour, two Cuban historical epics newly released here, Tomas Alea's *The Last Supper* and Sergio Giral's *The Bounty Hunter*, are much the same. Each deals with a runaway slave who is recaptured and then escapes again. In *The Last Supper* this miscreant is, precisely because of his rebelliousness, accorded a special honor. At a banquet which his owner holds for twelve slaves during Easter week, as an act of Christian charity, this leader among runaways is given the place on the right hand of his host. In *The Bounty Hunter* a somewhat different honor befalls the runaway singled out as leader. He is chosen by the *rancheador*, or bounty hunter, to serve as guide in rounding up the other runaways. But in each case the white master gets for thanks just what he deserves from his black slave: further rebellion. The guest of honor at the banquet leads the next day an uprising so desperate that he is its only survivor. The guide likewise seizes the first opportunity he has to betray the bounty hunter into the hands of the very runaways they are hunting. In the end the slave heroes of both films light out for the hills, free at last.

Since these two films are based on historical fact—*The Last Supper* on an 18th-century incident well known in Cuban history, *The Bounty Hunter* on a 19th-century journal kept by the title character—it isn't surprising that they should also share a good deal of iconography. Both films abound in severed heads on stakes, severed ears (the customary punishment for runaways), garrotings and other shock images. In each film it is even possible to see the slave-owners themselves as the ones responsible for their troubles. (This is an understandable assumption for two Marxist films to share, since history is for Marxism a consequence of the failure of old orders as much as the self-assertion of new ones.) Yet when we look at the historical role that each film assigns to its slave hero, the two films cease to be just two of a kind. They become distinctly individual interpretations of history.

The parallel Alea's title points out between the story he is telling and Christ's makes *The Last Supper* heavily allegorical in mood. It becomes an ironic commentary on Christian virtue in which Christ betrays his disciples. Though we may not think of the characters as their biblical counterparts at each moment, they do always seem to represent moral states that are larger than life. In the last frames of the film, for instance, we see the slave hero running up into the hills. The camera is below him as he makes his way along a ridge, and his back-lit figure is an undeniably Romantic one. Over the course of the film he has become, like Zapata's horse, a spiritual presence, an incarnation of the will to be free. When we meet him upon his recapture at the beginning of the film, we are struck by his ugliness, which makes him seem more an animal than a man. This sense we have of him as a purely physical being is increased by a hideous wound to his eye and his newly severed ear. Subsequent impressions confirm these, too. At his master's banquet he gobbles food like a beast and spits in his master's face. Freedom doesn't seem so much a spirit in him as a dumb instinct.

But as the film progresses, the master turns out to be the bestial one—a man who goes from piety and shows of Christian charity to a drunken stupor at his own "last supper," and then to a frenzy of killing at the end. And in the meantime, his slave becomes an ever more ethereal figure. When his owner passes out at their last supper, the slave blows a cloud of magic dust into his face to hex him. The slave in effect vaporizes himself in order to escape his bondage. Similarly, after his rebellion is put down, he takes refuge in the house of the plantation manager, who then claims not to have seen him when the overseer's men come searching. Indeed, when the manager looks again for the slave two minutes later, he is gone. It is as if he were an apparition, or rather a revelation—a miraculous appearance the mere sight of which has the power to convert the wicked. Running up a hill with the sun behind him in the film's last shot, he ascends like Christ into the heavens.

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By contrast, the slave hero of *The Bounty Hunter* is an extremely ambiguous figure. In a way the conclusion of his story is even more triumphant than that of the rebel in *The Last Supper*. For before he makes for the hills, he kills the bounty hunter himself. He puts on an armband that was ripped off upon his recapture at the film's beginning. Then he stalks the bounty hunter through the bush, machetes him in hand to hand combat, and rides away on his white horse. Unlike the ending of *The Last Supper*, however, this bravado is somewhat unexpected and only deepens uncertainties we have had about everything that precedes it. Ever since the bounty hunter took on this slave as his guide, both men have met with bad luck. At one point, for instance, the slave leads the bounty hunter up a gully that turns out to be a *cul de sac*. Suddenly, the runaways they are tracking appear above them and try to stone them to death. Although the guide has to run for his life too, there hovers over the episode a question whether the slave didn't lead the bounty hunter into this ambush on purpose. When the guide seizes the opportunity of another ambush to turn the tables on the bounty hunter, and hunt him, we realize fully the possibility that he has been luring this white man into this trap all along.

Such ambiguity makes the slave's drama a surpassingly human one in the end. He has been at times a helpless figure, a mock Sambo almost, but it turns out, perhaps, that he was only playing possum all the while. Just before the scene where he turns on the bounty hunter, there is a scene where the bounty hunter defends his guide during a mutiny by his men. The extraordinary implication of this gesture is not that the bounty hunter is, like the plantation owner in *The Last Supper*, brimming over with Christian charity. It is that he has become so utterly dependent on his slave-guide—he has gone so deep into the hills and gambled so much on this man's turning up the other runaways—that the balance of power between them has shifted. Here is yet another moment where the slave, far from being a fool himself, appears to be making a fool of the bounty hunter. This is characteristic of the action in *The Bounty Hunter*: while any single event may seem to move in one direction on the surface, underneath the whole flow of events is actually going the opposite way.

This two-sidedness is also what makes *The Bounty Hunter* seem so human a drama where *The Last Supper*, with its hero who is spiritualized in the end, seems a more scriptural tale, one larger than life. It may be that the difference between them reflects some emerging consensus about the slave history of Cuba—some general feeling that what existed as pure legend among slaves in the 18th century became in the 19th a more effectively human form of cunning. Whatever these two films together may tell us about either Cuba's past or her present, though, they don't need such historical connections to be of interest. Each is perfectly capable of standing on its own.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

BOOKS

THE RELIGION OF CIVILITY

MICHAEL NOVAK

No Offense: Civil Religion and Protestant Taste

JOHN MURRAY CUDDIHY

Seabury, $11.95 [224 pp.]

This is a stimulating book; where it is not on target, it errs in a creative and valuable way. John Murray Cuddihy is a humanistic sociologist, in the double sense that he is absorbed with problems of culture as it is lived and experienced, and that by design he permits who he is to affect what he sees. Because he has the courage of his acute intelligence, he sees things sharply that others miss entirely. The subjects he takes up can never be regarded in quite the same way again. There is a touch of madness in his vision, an alluring wildness which leads a wise reader to suspend judgment while willingly trying out a new way of seeing. Rewards are found on almost every page.

On the very day that I was reading this book, for example, a handsome and successful Irish Catholic professional in the corporate world was telling a dinner party how *embarrassed* he had often been by pre-Vatican II Catholicism. He recalled how his wife's parents had cut her brother out of his (small) inheritance because he married "outside the church." Everyone present found the memory excruciating. Exactly such *embarrassments* are the theme of Cuddihy's book. The materials he writes about are obvious everywhere, but seldom noticed. Even the pattern of not noticing them—being *forbidden* to notice them—is fascinating.

Cuddihy argues that the overarching horizon within which Americans live out their lives is a "way of life" (religion), which instructs us how not to give offense, about what to feel embarrassed, and how to meet the daily disciplines of decency and "civility." The civil religion stronger than and normative for all particular religions (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish) he calls "the religion of civility." Cuddihy de-

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fines and unfolds this argument through an introduction, eight chapters, and a very brief conclusion. The heart of the book (chapters 3-5) consists of three case studies of a Protestant (Reinhold Niebuhr), two Catholics (John Courtney Murray, S.J., as studied by contrast with Leonard Feeney, S.J.), and a Jew (Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg). All three paradigmatic figures are shown adapting to the disciplines of the religion of civility. Two chapters introduce these three case studies; and three draw corollaries from them.

Cuddihy's "religion of civility" is not quite the "civil religion" Robert Bellah and others have written of. Bellah is thinking of the institutions of civil society—documents, holidays, formal liturgies—while Cuddihy is thinking of behaviors of deference, internal censorship, deeply inculcated attitudes, the esthetics of good taste, and the calculus of respectability which singles out which ideas are to be taken seriously and which should cause embarrassment at any given time. In the life of high culture, "sophistication" requires a long tutoring in what may be said or thought, so as not to give offense. (In some seasons, "offensive" protests against the war might give no offense, whereas defense of the war would carry shock and outrage.)

Believers in traditional religions have vivid experiences of the religion of civility, and in his concrete observation of these actual experiences Cuddihy is at his best. He has a sharp, novelist's eye; shrewd observations and nifty turns of insight occur on many pages. His eye, however, is unsteady. He shows little effort about the Protestant experience, especially that of lower-class Protestants or those of low cultural status; even his treatment of Niebuhr, while astute, is cursory. (He relies chiefly on June Bingham's rather weak biography.) Cuddihy's sub-title speaks of "Protestant Taste," and chapter seven considers "the Protestant esthetic." But it is plain that Cuddihy does not mean Hamilton Jordan's taste, or Anita Bryant's esthetic. He means by "Protestant" the Cabots, the Lodges, the Rockefellers, Cyrus Vance. The reality he points to is one of class at least as much as of religion; more properly, of culture and class, affected by religion.

Cuddihy is absolutely fascinated by Jews and Jewish experience. Not only was his last book (*The Ordeal of Civility*) exclusively about Jews, but the most vital pages of this book are as well, and his next book (he hints) will be on the Holocaust. Upper-class Irish Catholics of the East (Fathers Murray and Feeney are apt symbols of his interest) excite his imagination, too. The only serious rival his ethnoclass faces in the domain of culture, the pacesetter of his ambition, the rival that fascinates him, are Jews; that, I think, explains the energy of his attentions.

Still, America is such a deeply Protestant culture, Cuddihy shows, that certain Protestant assumptions frame the whole context within which Catholics and Jews think. One of these assumptions is that religion is a matter of individual, atomic, voluntaristic choice. Another is that the sphere of the voluntary is inherently private, so that to speak of it publicly becomes embarrassing. Neither Catholics nor Jews naturally understand religion in this Protestant way. For both, although in different ways, religion is a far more public, communal, social, and even ethnic fact. (It is also so for Protestants, under deep disguises.) A common circumlocution masks the cognitive dissonance Catholics and Jews feel in America: "I happen to be a Catholic." "I happen to be a Jew." One winces when one says this. (I *don't* just "happen to be . . .," I was *born* a Catholic, and I consider that a primary fact of enormous value, pregnant with inner conflict; and it is also a matter of confirmed *choice:* an inescapable and yet also freely chosen destiny.) A Catholic does not "happen" to be a Catholic. A Jew does not "just happen" to be Jewish. In Germany in recent memory, no matter what the voluntary consciousness of the individual, Jewishness was ascribed by others.

The scandal of particularity, the *stubbornness* of difference, is not really easy for the religion of civility to grant. Cuddihy catches well the lies we tell ourselves, and the secret adjustments we make, especially when we begin to do in experience what our inherited theories forbid us to do —and unconsciously erode our theories. Perhaps further research by Cuddihy or others will map the whole path of dishonesties, evasions, bluffs, and rationalizations by which, in actual experience, millions of American Catholics have become "Americanized" and "liberalized." Some of this pilgrimage, to be sure, may be judged to represent creative advance, progressive inquiry into the gospels, genuine "development of doctrine," etc. But some of it would surely represent the dirty little secret of social climbing, the "ass kissing" (Cuddihy's words, of course) of the guardians of civility, the learning of how and when to feel embarrassed. The journals of liberal Catholicism would be prime sources, Cuddihy hints, for such a

> *When candidate Jimmy Carter, Southern "born-again" Baptist, campaigned for the presidency in 1976, he ran head-on into civil religion. But the civil religion he collided with was not the civil religion that civil theologians, like Robert Bellah, speak of, a system of national and generalized beliefs supported by most Americans. Carter encountered the civil religion that Americans, more and more, practice, whatever they profess. This complex code of rites instructs us in the ways of being religiously inoffensive, of giving "no offense," of being* religiously *sensitive to religious differences. To be complexly aware of our religious appearances* to others *is to practice the religion of civility. Thus, civil religion is the social choreography of tolerance. It dances out an attitude.*
>
> —No Offense

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study. He is especially good on the "class struggle" between lower-class "ghetto Catholics" like Father Francis X. Connell and Monsignor Joseph Fenton of Catholic University and "aristocrats" like Murray and Feeney.

About the thesis of each of Cuddihy's chapters, I would like to raise counter-examples and make counter-arguments. Space forbids. Cuddihy is leading the sociology of religion into a study of *culture*—the lived world of daily life, precisely the terrain most central to human life and least understood, deep and sweeping in its effects and subtle in its workings. If Andrew Greeley represents in sociology the child of Light, bright with numbers and happy thoughts; Cuddihy represents the child of Darkness, alive to ugly secrets and ambiguities.

Cuddihy's project, therefore, is important; all can learn from him. In the present book, however, in its tone and voice, Cuddihy is remarkably ambivalent. He has not fully clarified his subject in his own mind. He is not certain where he stands with respect to it. He speaks of the religion of civility, at times, with an undertone of loathing and contempt and resentment, as if it were an instrument of repression and diminishment; here the pains of a thousand put-downs seem to shine through. He speaks of it, at other times, with clear words of approval. In fact, one can detect in his text at least four different meanings for civility. (1) Civility is a corrupter of Christianity, a censorious discipline of bourgeois politeness setting itself up above Christianity, and treating genuine Christianity as a source of embarrassment and scandal. (2) Civility is a form of high Protestant "bad faith," a kind of cultural imperialism, through which under false pretenses Catholics and Jews are obliged to pass as Protestants in order to acquire status as "partners in the dialogue" (i.e., to have surrendered before the conversation opens). (3) Civility is the property of an aristocratic mind, working at a high, subtle, and imposing level; an intellectual tradition larger than any individual or society, aimed at that prudential axis where lofty and humane ideals inform public institutions. (4) Civility is a concrete institutionalization of charity, the working out of a genuine Christian humility, respect for others, and unwillingness to cause pain, in social manners and institutions. Those who follow Cuddihy will have to disentangle these and other socially alive meanings of the term.

A still more radical objection is that Cuddihy errs in thinking of civility as primarily "Protestant," and relating it to "the Protestant aesthetic." Neither George Wallace nor Lyndon Johnson, neither Carrie Nation nor Father Divine, sinned by excessive civility. The attitude Cuddihy is trying to point to is not specifically "Protestant"; it springs rather from the code of the English gentleman. This is the code Cuddihy's ancestors experienced at the hands of their cultural "superiors" in Ireland and in New York. Daniel Bell has recently quoted Ernest Barker's comment that "the gentleman is the one who maintains the tradition of civility," and R. H. Tawney's comment that the English do not have a State (like the Germans: an abstraction, an efficient bureaucracy), but a government (gentlemen who know one another and conduct affairs in a civil manner). A British-inspired upper class does not "rule" (like a Napoleon or a Führer or a Duce), nor does it "make deals" (like a Mayor Daley); it governs through intimate circles of acquaintances. The carriers of the religion of civility are not, primarily, Protestants; they are, primarily, gentlemen. As H. L. Mencken observed, the progress of peaceful civilized life in America, beginning at Harvard, depended upon throwing the Puritans out and replacing them with gentlemen.

In his last chapter, "Homely Protestant: A Decorum of Imperfection," Cuddihy describes beautifully how the lowly language and humble story of Jesus came to shape the sensibility of Europe, and to make it a sign of good taste to avoid both ostentation and the vulgarity of slick perfection. The cult of plainness gives rise to an art of anti-art, a heroism of the anti-hero, a preference for the unvarnished, plain bricks and wooden beams of the newly renovated brownstone, a delight in jeans which show their seams. Cuddihy confuses here the revolt of the "Bohemians" against the bourgeoisie, and of immigrants against niceness. He notes how the language of the Bible was an affront to classicists like St. Augustine; it was an offense against civility. Then he shows how *our* civility is shaped by this Christian lowliness, so that civility has changed its character. Thus, "the Protestant esthetic" of homely virtue, gawky grace, and halting eloquence forms a new pattern of civility. But again, is it really Protestant? A gentleman is bound to the decorum of the amateur, would be ashamed to seem too expert at anything, would think it unsporting to practice before playing the game. The "WASP reference group which looks on as a status audience" has been taught more by Lord Chesterfield than by Calvin or Wesley; the covenant of the Constitution owes more to the cool-

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ness of gentlemen than to the heat of Puritan divines.

Still, there is no doubt—Cuddihy himself amasses evidence—that there is a "religion of civility" deeper and stronger than any of our particular religions. So strong is it, in fact, that "true" religion may not be possible here. We are accustomed to lauding America for granting "freedom" to worship as we choose. But can one worship a God who is a creature of one's choice? There are disturbing intimations in the early part of Cuddihy's argument, which he too easily glosses over by the end. His is a delicious book to argue with.

The Gun and The Olive Branch

DAVID HIRST

Harcourt Brace, $12.95 [367 pp.]

Honor The Promise

ROBERT F. DRINAN

Doubleday, $7.95 [250 pp.]

WILSON CAREY McWILLIAMS

Every day's newspaper reminds us that the Middle East is a torment to human pride and good will. David Hirst, the Middle East correspondent of the *Guardian* is as pro-Palestinian as Father Drinan is pro-Israel. Hirst is almost exclusively concerned with Middle Eastern history; Drinan is barely concerned with the Middle East except as it affects the West. For both, however, the Middle East is a caricature of politics where old policies are bankrupt yet the antagonists rumble on, avalanche-like, mocking human imagination and will. And both Hirst and Drinan hope, somewhat despairingly, for a way out.

The "roots of violence," Hirst argues, lie in the nature of Zionism and its impact on Middle Eastern life. Zionism—dynamic and aiming at a relatively homogeneous Jewish homeland—increasingly encroached on Palestine's Arabs, culturally as well as territorially. In the age of imperialism, Zionists saw themselvs as "agents of civilization," and their concern for Arab rights did not include a right to resist "progress." But inevitably, Palestinian Arabs did resist their own growing expatriation, and Arab violence inspired Jewish self-defense and retaliation. Zionists wanted peace, but committed to a national home ample for the in-gathering of all the exiles, they were unwilling to set stable, premature limits to their own expansion. The Arabs, Hirst concedes, dogmatically rejected even favorable compromises, and their visible rigidity concealed the reluctance of Zionists and Israelis to define stable frontiers restricting their own ambitions.

Sadat's initiative has, to some extent, upset that pattern. In recent negotiations, it is Israel which has seemed intransigent. Moreover, Israel's emphasis on force at the expense of the softer arts has offended many Western sensibilities; even a partisan like Drinan worries that "militarism" may have become too much a part of Israel's life. Diplomatically, Israel is clearly on the defensive and, as Hirst suggests, she may be close to exhausting her reserves of moral credit in the West.

Eager to avoid such a result, Drinan urges that, in return for Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories, America give a "very precise and unmistakable pledge" to defend Israel. But Drinan, as an anti-war activist, was not overawed by our commitments. He knows that even explicit promises cannot be trusted too far, especially since America's *material* interests are increasingly at odds with loyalty to Israel. If Israel is to trust us with her survival, she must rely on our "unwritten pledge,"a sense of kinship with Israel that goes beyond secular reasonings.

For Drinan, Israel is intimately bound up with Western culture and religious life, so that our attitudes toward Israel are a reflection of our own spiritual health. The ideal of a restored Jewish life in the Holy Land inextricably ties Judaism to the land of Israel. Anti-Zionism is anti-Jewish, and Drinan—following Freud—sees anti-Semitism, at root, as anti-Christianity. It follows that loyalty to Israel is a test of Christian fidelity. Any weakening of American support for Israel, consequently, is a matter of moral peril.

To Hirst, the moral weights are reversed. Most of his work is a chronicle of Israeli barbarities and acts of violence, and his argument, though one-sided, is persuasive up to a point. He is right, for example, to debunk the notion that "Arab leaders" were responsible for the flight of the Palestinians in 1948. Given the pattern of reciprocal violence and the then-recent massacre of Deir Yasin—tolerated, de facto, by Zionist leaders—the Palestinians were afraid, and with reason. Israel, Hirst argues, seized the excuse of war to drive out the Palestinians. He may exaggerate, but even Chaim Weizmann, who deplored violence, exulted at the "miraculous clearing of the land."

But Hirst is wrong to discount Israel's fear for her survival. At best, his argument is rationalistic, relying on the military weakness of Arab states relative to Israel, while security is a matter of feeling. Hirst's analysis is inadequate because it slights the European experience which shaped Israel's view of the world. Hirst skips lightly over World War II even though some of his evidence indicates that the Holocaust led Zionists to a much greater emphasis on military forces and state power. Even if Israel has had little to fear from the Arab militaries, Arab

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threats have *sounded* alarming. Jews were also told not to take Hitler seriously, and in reaction Israelis have preferred to err in the direction of giving Arab rodomontade more credit than it deserves. Similarly, Hirst describes the role of Israeli provocateurs in helping to terrify Eastern Jews into emigration to Israel. Yet surely the Israelis feared that Eastern Jews, like so many of their European brethren, would recognize too late the threat to their existence. And perhaps, given the escalating violence of the Middle East, such anxieties were realistic. In any case, Israel is a land shadowed by memories; even common sense is unreliable to a people which has seen senselessness elevated to a murderous dogma.

The fatalism which both Hirst and Drinan see in Israel's political culture is, in one sense, a traditional theme in Judaism. Anti-semitism was a nemesis, teaching that even the most favorable appearances hide terrible dangers. Sooner or later, calamity was inevitable, and Judaism prepared the soul for it. However, that resignation was also an act of hope, affirming God's order and promise.

But fatalism, the nobility of the weak, is callousness in the strong. As Hirst observes, Israeli leaders sometimes imply that peace will never be possible except at too great a price and that Israel is doomed to permanent war with her Arab neighbors.

Israel, however, has never completely surrendered to that logic. The Prophetic tradition which sustained the hope of return ranks justice above repatriation, and Israel was built on the ideal of a rebirth in which memory would inform but not control the present. The only rightful basis on Israel's claim to Zion, God's promise, also demands that Israel take every reasonable chance for peace, showing mercy and walking humbly.

Drinan is advocating support for *both* sides of that promise. He hopes that unambiguous American commitments to Israel would give us a better right to be critical of Israel's policies and would make Israel less anxious and more inclined to take chances in the pursuit of peace. His sympathy for Israel lets Drinan accept the fable that the P.L.O. is an "organ of the Arab governments." Leaving the past aside, Hirst is certainly right to insist that the Palestinians have become a people distinct from other Arabs. Nevertheless, Drinan does not condone the injustice done to the Palestinians, and he argues (with Arthur Waskow) that to reject a Palestinian state means "permanent war."

Yet as Hirst concedes, the years of exile have made the Palestinians ruthless and have accentuated their rigidity. Hirst emphasizes those moderates who are willing to accept some accommodation with Israel but—like Zionists dealing with Irgun's terrorism—Palestinian moderates are unlikely to do more than chide their militant cohorts, especially given the pure pragmatism of Fatah's political ethics. To accept even a demilitarized state, which Drinan suggests, Israel would need very reliable guarantees indeed. Unfortunately, it is not clear that America, seemingly leaderless and preoccupied with private goals, has the sense of public honor required to give and keep so sacred a promise.

Boston

UPTON SINCLAIR

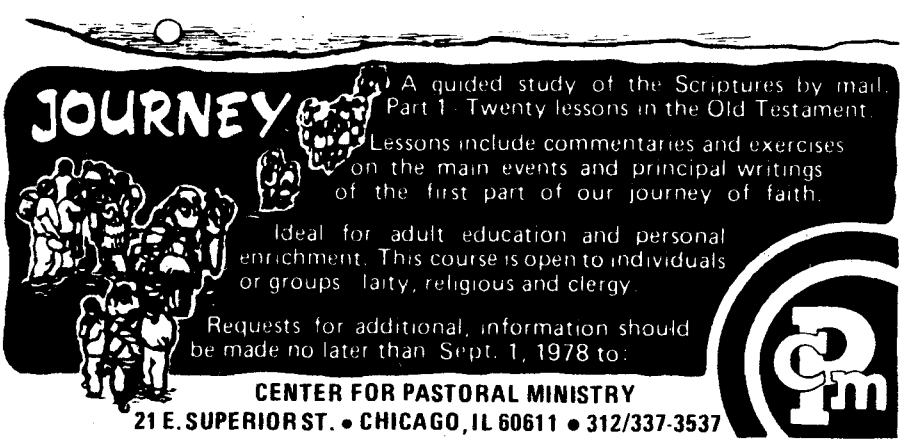
Robert Bentley, $15 [1872 pp.]

JOHN DEEDY

Publisher Bentley has done an interesting thing. He has taken Upton Sinclair's hefty documentary novel about the celebrated Sacco-Vanzetti case, hefted it further with new introduction, old photographs and recent documents relating to the case, and packaged the whole in a three-pound, 872-page single volume. It's an imaginative combining of near fiction and hard fact, and it works—perhaps even better for Bentley in 1978 than the novel, in two volumes, did for Sinclair in 1928. *Boston* is a steal at $15.

Sinclair's is a fascinating, if flawed work—baldly partisan pieces frequently are—a cut below *The Jungle* and others of his books. But in this format, *Boston* takes on unusual vitality. Of course the timing helps. The fiftieth anniversary observances of the executions of Sacco and Vanzetti have rekindled interest in the case, as have the 1977 Report to the Governor [of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts] in the Matter of Sacco and Vanzetti, and Governor Dukakis's subsequent proclamation removing "any stigma and disgrace . . . forever" from the pair. (Those documents are reproduced here.) The South Braintree robbery and murders charged to Sacco and Vanzetti occurred on April 15, 1920; Sacco and Vanzetti were electrocuted August 23, 1927. But suddenly 1920 and 1927 are as yesterday. This book helps make them so.

If qualm I have with Bentley's imaginative mix, it is with the introduction by Boston University professor Howard Zinn. Zinn's credentials are perfect for his assignment. He's an old warrior of the civil-rights and anti-war movements, precisely the person to put Sacco and Vanzetti in a relevant con-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text. He strives to do so by drawing a parallel between the America of the 1920s and the America of today. Why not? There are some disconcerting similarities. Unfortunately, Zinn is trapped by his anger, and his essay, instead of clarifying issues and challenges, succumbs to tendentiousness.

I regret this. I happen to share Zinn's ire about what happened to Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and I am as worried as he about the limitations of justice in America. But I fail to find myself helped by literary leaps from the 1920 death of a Sacco-Vanzetti-like anarchist in a 14-story fall while in FBI custody, to a 1950s death in a 16-story fall of a scientist dosed up with LSD by the CIA. . . . Same with the invocation of the terrible fates in 1969 of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Zinn demands of me intellectual gymnastics that I find impossible.

So long as I'm carping, let me add disappointment that the volume's reading list does not include former Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas on the subject of Sacco and Vanzetti. He went on record in a 50-page, 25,000-word preface to the reprint edition of the transcript of the trial [Appel, Mamaroneck, N.Y., 1969]. It is an extremely important study, specifically of the juridical processes attending the case. Yet it continues to be overlooked.

Negatives spoken, let me say that I am thrilled that *Boston* is back in print. For those reading it for the first time, the story moves on two levels—that of the Sacco-Vanzetti case itself, and that of a wealthy Boston family that is touched by events. The central character on the purely fictional level is Cornelia Thornwell, wife of a Boston banker and matriarch of an esteemed branch of proper Bostonianism. Caught up in the Sacco-Vanzetti cause, Cornelia Thornwell provides a fascinating glimpse into a type person that, thankfully, is not lost to America. *Nota,* Mrs. Peabody and Miss Lillian. You'll like Cornelia.

More to the point, you'll enjoy renewing contact with Upton Sinclair, that intense, junior Bernard Shaw with the American-Socialist vision. Sinclair writes with insight and passion—style and wit, as well. I challenge anyone not to chuckle at his portrayal of the Boston of the Brahmins and the old *Transcript,* the newspaper that served the city's most proper. Example: Cornelia's husband, a former governor, has died. Newsmen rush to the mansion for the details. Addicks, "the perfect family servant," answers the door and turns to James, a Thornwell son-in-law. "Mr. James," says Addicks, "there are three reporters and a gentleman from the *Transcript.*"

The *Transcript* is dead, but long live Boston, *Boston.*

And peace to Upton Sinclair's heroes.

In Such Dark Places

JOSEPH CALDWELL

Farrar, Straus, $8.95 [229 pp.]

The Offering

JAMES REID

Putnam's, $8.95 [223 pp.]

WILLIAM O'ROURKE

The two novels at hand deal with murder and death, corruption and innocence, love and lust. Priests are central characters in both and whenever there is a priest in fiction there is the possibility of a great fall (for he is a figure elevated with lofty assumptions.) There are fewer resemblances than differences in the novels and though neither is very good (*The Offering* is dreadful) they do illustrate a curious fact.

The Offering is a potboiler of the worst sort; unbelievable people are drawn in dead stick prose, but the plot they till is thick with important issues and events: contemporary Irish and American politics, terrorism and the IRA, the complicities of Church and State, splashed on the grand canvas, where the world's a stage. As *The Offering* is profligate *In Such Dark Places* is chaste: its prose is careful and clean; the characters depicted are marked individuals, lives judiciously examined. But what occurs, the activity itself, is the cliché. Joseph Caldwell, a playwright whose first novel this is, has constructed a delicate machine that ticks; James Reid, in *The Offering,* a tall ugly edifice that collapses. The curious fact these books illustrate is this: the hack writer will more often appropriate large powerful events to fuel his crude machine, whereas the careful, deliberate craftsman, such as Caldwell, will seem to be limited by his prudence and be left with the smaller bite of experience his own life has provided.

In Such Dark Places is set in New York City's lower East Side, the section which for a brief period was christened the "East Village." It is still unredeemed by the middle class; there the poor are always. Eugene, the novel's elliptical protagonist (we rather sketchily, but never satisfactorily, get his history) is an aspiring photographer, a just uncloseted homosexual, and—more puzzling—a *recent* fallen-away Catholic. In one of the novel's least elegant patches of prose we learn (after a homosexual encounter in a Bowery shelter): "Somewhere around this time, Eugene stopped going to Mass and to the Sacraments, not as a conscious decision, but out of perplexity. He no longer had any sense of where he stood among men and God, and the placement bureau within him seemed to have shut down without notice."

The novel begins with a Good Friday procession, which Eugene photographs, that erupts into a melee, ending with a murder and a theft (the murder of a teenage boy Eugene had developed an interest in, and the theft of his camera with the pictures of the parade and perhaps of the killing). The plot turns into a detective story (Will the camera be recovered? Will the killer be identified?); but it pales, or rather, falls into the shadows cast by Caldwell's fastidious rendering of the quotidian. The novel is told in practically unlapsed time which provides needed momentum. Along the way Eugene's sexuality is confronted and he grapples with the loss of faith and the gains of carnality. They both traffic in a good deal of religious symbolism, if not content. "Murder,

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thought Eugene, jealousy, revenge, all aroused by sex. But was there even more to it than that? As he had lain there in the nighttime dark, there came to him as well his wish from the Saturday procession, that Johnny thrust all his strength, not at the cross, but at him, so that after his orgasm of fury the youth would lie conquered and spent, helpless and defeated. A kind of castration, a kind of death." Actually, Eugene seems more in the need of a therapist, than a priest.

The boundaries of the novel are small (the lower East Side is not left); and what climactical acts occur are committed upon sundry bodies, since they are the novel's true territory. The most compelling character is the priest, Father Carusone, only because he, at least, is always saying the unexpected. He, unfortunately, is not the main character; it is Eugene, who carries the unhappy flaw of a protagonist who is not as intelligent as his author.

The Offering's priest is Tom O'Neill, tall and handsome, though we learn late in the novel that he has never kissed a girl, until he meets the IRA tootsie Mara MacRaimond (modeled in a wacky way after Maria McGuire, author of *To Take Arms: My Year With the IRA Provisionals.*)

Father Tom (who is something of an Uncle Tom) collects money in America for the IRA—and as portrayed, a murderous lot of shanty Irish are they—and then is shocked that a million dollar contribution (arranged most nefariously by the State Department) he has received is a gangster's tainted money, so he righteously intends to return it, setting off a domino theory of murder and mayhem. It is part of Father Tom's irking innocence that he never considers that *anybody's* million dollar contribution would be tainted money—behind every fortune there is a crime, etc. But, that, and a great many other things are beyond Father Tom. But the blame should not fall on his broad shoulders, but on author Reid, London-born, late a serving officer in the British Rhine Army, an advertising account executive, an art dealer who recently has moved to the south of France and, according to his publisher's jacket copy, is spending all his time (not, alas, *all* his time) reconverting an old farmhouse. One cannot take too seriously Father Tom, who protests, after a series of disastrous mis-steps, "Look I'm a priest. At least I was a couple of days ago. I don't know what I am now." Why novels of this sort are filled with air travel, exotic locations, gobs of violence, is self-evident. No one would read Harold Robbins if he wrote about the poor. Only glittery voyeurism will do, and Mr. Reid follows suit, except he does what no writer of violence should do: his descriptive powers fail him in the middle of a gory murder, and, even though I reread it several times, I could not figure out how the physical feat was accomplished.

The Offering caused me to laugh out loud a few times, when it rose to heights of self-parody, though the parody is not deliberate and *The Offering* is not funny at all.

America as Experiment

For many people throughout the world America represents the *great experiment*. Through their traditions of thousands of years most of the other nations understand themselves as a piece of nature. Culture and nature have become a unity. Every present is burdened with the past. Everywhere one sees the remnants of past times. Next to one of these nations America appears as an artifact. In a very short time after its independence the United States was constructed out of the will and the reason of immigrants. One needs only to compare an American city with a European city in order to observe that "city" is no translation of "polis," "citta," or "Stadt" but designates a new phenomenon. One needs only to compare the farmland in the Middle West with Asian farming villages to see that here also a new relationship with nature has emerged. . . .

Life as experiment means, try it again and again, the future is open for you and the future is gracious to the virtuous. *Life as experiment* means not to accept any piece of reality as final and closed but to go forward in the dynamic of the provisional. *Life as experiment* is the trial and error method. History as experiment is the challenge and response method. From its very inception America was a great experiment, and up to the present day it understands itself as a Great Experiment with nature, society, the future, with God.

—Jurgen Moltmann, "The American Dream"
Commonweal, August 5, 1977

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IN BRIEF

SAINTS FOR ALL SEASONS, *ed. John J. Delaney, Doubleday, $7.95 [205 pp.]*

Charles Peguy says in his play on Joan of Arc, "All the saints have always borne the glory of God in the folds of their cloaks," and about patron saints, "One is always from somewhere, one always belongs to something and to someone in Christendom." John J. Delaney of Image Books fame persuaded twenty Catholic authors to speak of the saint to whom they feel they belong, from whom they like to think they come. This book on "favorite saints" is a mixed bag; naturally the writing varies with the style of each author. Each reveals facets of his own personality in speaking of these saints. It is interesting to know why the late Donald Thorman chose St. Jude, and to see Gary MacEoin de-Irish St. Patrick and seize upon him as an apostle of the missionary spirit needed today, the spirit MacEoin shows in his writings. Anne Fremantle says best, in writing on Augustine, what makes a saint a "favorite"—two things: "One should be drawn to him as a person, and he should 'speak to my condition'." So, Dan Herr likes Thomas More for his sense of humor; Candida Lund says Joan of Arc pleases her because "Joan is more woman than lady." Joel Wells identifies with Thomas à Becket because the saint stood for a principle that would not yield or bend in the face of force. Fulton Oursler, Jr., writing about "the unknown saint" finds mystery in the simplest life of the simplest Christian. And John Deedy espouses Francis de Sales for his love of books. Interesting, almost every author here comes to his or her saint through books. Which may be why saints are not popular today. Few people read about them. This book then could be the first course in "Remedial Hagiography." It will be popular as an Image Book.

NORBERT F. GAUGHAN

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 451)

in the North could not go on if the driving power against the establishment there were merely thugs, however romantic. The IRA Provos fill a need and have the respect of the oppressed Catholic mass, which cannot be said for John Hume (very influential with you, Kennedy and the rest), who is a decent bourgeois, one of the group who started the whole thing with a cry for civil rights and then were helpless when Ian Paisley began to shout and the Protestant thugs began beating and burning.

If the IRA Provos are crushed before a decent settlement is achieved, the Catholics of the North will once again be abandoned by the leadership in the South, and, as they hunker down and take it, there will be little heard of them and their sufferings on this side of the water. Prominent, respectable and stupid Irish Americans will look the other way, but they will be feted in Dublin.

Please present the other side of this deadly story.

(MSGR.) CHARLES OWEN RICE

Washington D.C.

To the Editors: Desmond Fisher is to be commended for his article "Britain's Third Option" [May 26]. A federal solution to the "trouble" in the North of Ireland would go far—if not all the way—to ending the tragic violence and building a just and peaceful Ireland. What is disappointing is that so few have taken a good look at such a promising proposal. It is also disappointing to see where the credit goes for the "federal solution."

Kevin Street Sinn Fein, the only 32-County political organization, suggested federalism as early as 1971, and it became a part of their social and economic program for a united Ireland. But because Sinn Fein supports the IRA their views are virtually banned from the media, although Sinn Fein is a legal party with elected representatives.

It is easy enough to criticize Sinn Fein for supporting the IRA, but that does not give the Irish or British governments the right to suppress the political ideas of Sinn Fein. Had common sense and a true interest in the welfare of Ireland allowed Sinn Fein proposals to be aired and considered back in 1971, perhaps the violence of the past eight years—paramilitary and British Army both—would not have been necessary.

The federal solution to Ireland's problems offers much in the way of peace and prosperity, but let us all give credit where it is due, and not allow federalism to be used as yet another political football and perpetuate the tragedy that is Britain's rule in Ireland.

THOMAS KNEIPP

School Aid

Detroit, Mich.

To the Editors: Your March 3, 1978 editorial, "Extending Aid to Education," supports a cynical and poorly designed plan to provide federal aid to sectarian schools. The motivation for the Packwood-Moynihan tax credit proposal is the constitutional ban on direct aid to church-related elementary and secondary schools. To avoid this ban, the bill would funnel aid to people who do not need it, would deny it to those who do need it, and would provide an administrative structure that is so loose that large-scale fraud is a moral certainty.

In order to buy a small chance that

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the Supreme Court will find it constitutional, the aid program is structured in ways that otherwise make no sense. First, the aid is given to *all* students, not just those going to parochial schools. General aid of $4 billion is questionable in light of other more pressing national problems. Although, as your editorial pointed out, costs have gone up over 70 percent between 1967 and 1975, middle class incomes have gone up at about the same rate during this period. In any case, taxing the middle class to pay for benefits to the middle class is not the world's greatest idea. For the most part, all that happens is that a portion of the burden of financing education is shifted from middle class families to middle class persons without children and to middle class elderly persons.

Second, the Packwood-Moynihan proposal has all the inefficiency that results when taxes are used in place of direct grants. It gives aid to upper income families that do not need it and it denies aid to the poor who do. Your editorial suggested that the credit would have a refundable feature to give aid to persons too poor to be taxpayers, but the political prospects of a refundable feature are nil. It would almost certainly destroy the already weak chance that the Supreme Court would treat the plan as a tax provision rather than a grant program. Since the whole purpose of the credit approach is to reduce the constitutional problem, a feature that increases it is 100 percent dead.

Giving aid to the wrong people is only the beginning of the problem of the credit.

By using the tax credit mechanism, the Packwood-Moynihan bill puts the IRS in charge of its administration. Two effects are completely predictable. First, to the extent that IRS diverts resources to this program, its more important audit and taxpayer assistance functions will suffer. Second, since IRS can audit only about 2 percent of returns filed, many persons not entitled to the credit will be unable to resist the temptation to claim it anyway. It is not feasible for IRS to require the kind of verification on a tax return that an agency with responsibility for administering a direct grant program would build into its disbursement procedures. The name of the game in tax administration these days is simplicity. Even adding a single line to the tax return is resisted fiercely by those responsible for making the tax laws intelligible to over 100 million Americans.

MICHAEL J. MCINTYRE
Professor of Law,
Wayne State University

The Berrigan Witness

Richmond, Va.

To the Editors: On April 25, Judge Owen Lewis of the Federal District Court, Alexandria, Va., sentenced Esther Cassidy, Ladon Sheats, John Schuchardt and myself to 1 year, 6 months suspended, 2 years probation. We joined in prison Ed Clark, with a similar sentence, and Carl Kabat, OMI, serving a year. All six of us are from the Jonah House community in Baltimore.

Lewis forbade a statement at sentencing; gave us terms of 1 year and 6 months, despite concurrent dropping of charges for similar civil disobedience in other Alexandria federal courts, and disregarded Esther Cassidy's first offense status, her pregnancy of three months, and recovery from a serious Easter Sunday auto accident.

The testimony leading to imprisonment went thusly: we first shared a litany of repentance—asking God's forgiveness for the main elements of American warmaking, beginning with the new doomsday weapons systems—Trident, cruise missile, Missile X.

Then we poured blood on the pillars and floors of The Pentagon, revealing its bloodletting of over three decades. And we scattered ashes, as a symbol of mourning and repentance, and as a warning against a world in nuclear ash.

We said at Catonsville that the genocide stops here. Now, we say the mass suicide stops here. (To prepare for nuclear suicide is to be guilty of it.) We will not pay for the conspiracies and weapons of this or any government. Rather, we will testify against its waste and madness, simply because the price of silence is unconscionably great. If physical freedom is bought only by silence, then we will discard silence and acquire a more precious freedom.

The Court sentenced us purely because we broke the law, and offered to withdraw the sentence when we promised to honor the law. But in our view, the law clearly legalizes the criminality of the State. If we are cremated in mass nuclear destruction, we will have the consolation of knowing that it was all legal.

Perhaps our imprisonment—in my case, added to 44 months already served for non-violent resistance—will give weight to this reflection. If we want peace, we will have to stop making war. If we are silent, we are making war. All this government needs to lead the world to nuclear ruin is an irrelevant vote every four years; a sizable slice of our income (for war), and silence.

We trust that sisters and brothers will awake as the Gospel entreats, and respond in time.

PHILIP BERRIGAN

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REVIEWERS

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JOHN DEEDY is Managing Editor of *Commonweal* and the author of *Literary Places, A Guided Pilgrimage: New York and New England*, being published this month by Sheed Andrews & McMeel.

WILLIAM O'ROURKE is the author of *The Harrisburg 7 and the New Catholic Left* and *The Meekness of Isaac*.

NORBERT F. GAUGHAN is Auxiliary Bishop of Greensburg, Pennsylvania.

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Publications on Sale

Books for Religious Education: An Annotated Bibliography
Annotated bibliography of books for religious education which includes approximately 200 titles recommended for adults and children. The adult list, which includes titles recommended for teenagers, was compiled by the members of the College, University and Seminary Libraries Section of the Eastern Pennsylvania Unit of the CLA; the teenager listing was compiled by the High School Libraries Section of this same Unit; the children's listing is excerpted from Dr. Robert Fitzsimmons' biliography of children's books recommended for religious instruction. Also includes a directory of publishers. **$3.00**

Student's Values in Drugs and Drug Abuse
Sister Mary Virginia Sztorc, C.S.S.F.
Educators, school counselors, parents, and librarians will find this booklet a useful guide in conducting a program of teenage students' value clarification in drugs and drug abuse. The booklet identifies and defines types of amphetamines, barbiturates, psychedelics, narcotics, and volatile chemicals. Annotated bibliographies of books for the teenage reader, books and materials for parents and teachers, and an annotated bibliography of educational media (16mm films, sound filmstrips, recordings, disc and tape) provide source material for a thorough program on drug and drug abuse. An appendix explains the "clock" technique used in value clarification programs. **$2.00**

Periodicals for Religious Education Centers and Parish Libraries
This annotated bibliography identifies and evaluates 106 magazines, newspapers, and newsletters which are recommended for religious education centers, parish libraries, and other libraries offering materials on religion. The bibliography also provides signed evaluations of periodical sources useful in the selection of media for religious instruction. **$3.00**

Librarian/Educator Interdependence
John T. Corrigan, C.F.X., editor
This booklet, a collection of the papers delivered at the Catholic Library Association Institute on Library/Educator Interdependence in 1976, explores the interdependence that should exist between the teacher and the librarian, librarian and librarian, publishers, manufacturers, producers, etc., who all influence the media of educational technology as they are used in the educational setting.
Topics: "Librarian/Educator Interdependence"; "Trends in the Community Affecting Interdependence in Education"; "The Cost of Interdependence"; "The Community of the Book"; Educational Media: As Basic as Books"; "Advanced Technology." **$3.00**

The Holocaust: An Annotated Bibliography
Harry James Cargas, Ph.D.
This is an annotated bibliography (86 pages) by Harry James Cargas, Ph.D., which lists 415 books and articles about the Holocaust, the systematic slaughter of Jewish human beings during World War II.

Titles are grouped in twelve categories: History, Hitler and Associates; Regional Events; Resistance; Samaritans, Justice; Theological, Philosophical, and Phychological Reflections and Interpretations; The Arts: Fiction, Poetry, Drama, Art and Interpretative Works; Children's Literature, Miscellaneous. It also includes a Directory of Publishers and an Author/Title Index.

Harry James Cargas, Ph.D., Associate Professor of English at Webster College in St. Louis, Missouri, is well known for his writings and speaking in several media. In addition to many books and magazine articles, he conducts a regular book review program for Missouri Public Radio and writes a book review column for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. **$4.00**

Guide for the Organization and Operation of a Religious Resource Center
John T. Corrigan, C.F.X., editor
This is a comprehensive handbook designed to meet the needs of a religious resource center staff in organizing media and planning for media use in religious education.
Written in simple terms, the book (81 pages) tells how media is evaluated, selected, ordered, processed, and organized for use. Detailed information is given on the administration (budgets, goals, reports, personnel); facilities and supplies (print and non-print quarters, furniture, equipment, etc.); activities and services of a religious resource center; the techniques of promotion and publicity. It also includes a glossary of terms, a directory of publishers, a Dewey Decimal Classification table, and a Subject Heading List. **$2.50**

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